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# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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## THE NEW CHIVALRY

## AN "AMICABLE" SETTLEMENT

It was stated in a daily paper, last Friday, that an "amicable settlement" had been arrived at between the colliery owners and the Miners' officials, by which the pit-brow girls had been discharged from the Sharlston mine and youths taken on instead.

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**DEDICATION**

**To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.**

## THE OUTLOOK

The House of Commons reassembles on Tuesday next, February 10, for the fourth Session of the present Parliament. The King's Speech will be read containing the programme of the Government for the Session. The Liberal Press states that there is no likelihood of a promise of a Government Bill for Woman Suffrage.

### Government's Programme for the Session

But though there is not to be Woman Suffrage, there is a great mass of legislation predicted interfering at every point with the life of women. The Home Rule Bill, settling how the women of Ireland are to be governed, and specifically excluding them from the Irish franchise for several years, is to be pressed forward. The Welsh Disestablishment Bill, in which women are vitally concerned, is to be passed over the veto of the House of Lords. An Education Bill regulating the teaching of the children is also to be passed without consulting the mothers of the country. Other matters to be dealt with are House of Lords reform, affecting the whole Government of the country; Income Tax, in regard to which women suffer acutely at the present time owing to the scandalous laws as to the income of married women; Naturalisation, where women have a serious grievance owing to the present rule that a British woman marrying a foreigner loses her nationality; and possibly Sickness Insurance, as to which the House of Commons has already inflicted flagrant injustices on women. Experience teaches us that so long as women remain without the vote there is no prospect whatever that any of these questions will be handled as they ought to be; on the contrary, there is only too good reason to fear that the position of women will be made worse.

### The Plural Voting Bill

The only remaining piece of prospective legislation which we have not yet referred to is the Plural Voting Bill. This is the Government's salvage out of the wreck of their franchise proposals. It will be remembered that by a series of tricks, which no honourable Liberal or Labour man can look back upon except with disgust, the Government wriggled out of their promises to women, and substituted, as we had all along foreseen and predicted, a Bill to abolish plural voting. It was passed through the Commons for the first time last year, and was thrown out by the Lords. It is intended to pass it again this year, and again in 1915 (if the present Parliament lasts so long), so that it may become law by operation of the Parliament Act in spite of the opposition of the Peers. It will then, it is hoped, serve the Liberal Party in good stead at the general election.

### Attitude of the Labour Party

The attitude of the Labour Party to this measure is one which deserves very careful attention. Last year the Party in the House, with one or two exceptions, voted in favour of the Bill in spite of a resolution of the Labour Conference instructing their Members of Parliament to oppose all Franchise Bills which did not expressly provide for the enfranchisement of women. It was understood that those who voted in the majority defended themselves on the ground that the Plural Voting Bill did not come within the meaning of the words "Franchise Bill,"

**TO LONDON READERS.**

Don't forget the Fellowship Reunion

**TO-NIGHT (FRIDAY), FEB. 6th,**

IN THE

**SMALL ESSEX HALL**

(Essex Street, Strand).

**MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE in the Chair at 8.30 p.m.**

*All Members of the Fellowship and Friends Cordially Invited.*

because it was a measure not for enfranchising persons, but for taking a certain number of votes away.

**Vote at the Glasgow Conference**

This year at Glasgow the opinion of the Labour Conference was invited directly on this point by a resolution moved on behalf of the Fabian Society by Alderman Sanders. The resolution asked the Conference to request the Parliamentary Labour Party to vote against the Plural Voting Bill unless a Government Bill enfranchising women had been previously introduced. This resolution was supported by Mr. Keir Hardie (who was one of those who voted against the Bill last year), but opposed by Mr. J. R. MacDonald and Mr. Henderson. On a card vote it was defeated by an overwhelming majority (1,856,000 to 89,000).

**Nullifying Their Opposition**

The important thing to notice about this result is that the decisions of the Labour Party Conference are only operative for the year intervening between one Conference and the next. As, therefore, there is no suggestion of the Government introducing any other Bill except the Plural Voting Bill during 1914, the refusal of the Conference to instruct the Party to oppose it nullifies completely its instruction to vote against any Franchise Bill in which women are not included. If ever in some future year the Government are likely to introduce some other measure altering the franchise, it will be open to the Labour Conference held immediately preceding that Session to amend their present attitude to the extent of admitting the new Bill also to their indulgence.

**Registration Reform or Franchise Reform**

That this is no fanciful picture is clearly shown by the words which Mr. MacDonald used in defending his attitude. He said that the Plural Voting Bill was a Bill dealing with registration and not with franchise, and that though the two subjects were allied they were not identical. If we turn back to the Speaker's ruling in January of last year we find that it was on the ground that the Government's proposals (popularly known as the Manhood Suffrage Bill) were considered by the Speaker to be more in the nature of registration reform than franchise reform that he ruled the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Bill out of order. We are thus confronted with the astounding fact that according to his own definition Mr. Macdonald would not consider himself precluded from supporting a Bill of so extensive a character as the Government's Manhood Suffrage Bill itself. Of what possible value to women is, then, the resolution carried by the Labour Party?

**Mr. Runciman Puts His Tongue in His Cheek**

Mr. Runciman received a deputation of Suffragists from the North-Western Federation of the National Union at Brampton last week. Interrupting one of the speakers who urged that only a Government Bill had any chance of passage into law, Mr. Runciman said:—

> Why do you say that? On what ground has a private Bill less chance of being passed than a Government Bill? Are you not suggesting that private members would not vote for the Bill if they are free to vote as they please, but that under artificial arrangements, with "whipping," we might compel members to vote against their private views? Are you likely to get Women's Suffrage through under those conditions?

In reply to this conundrum we answer emphatically "Yes." This is the only way Bills are ever carried through the House of Commons at the present time. A private Bill for Woman Suffrage cannot be carried because the Government will not allow a Bill to go forward of such a character as to command support from members of the Opposition as well as of the Coalition. We wonder how Mr. Runciman, who is certainly aware of these facts, can have had the face to state the contrary to the deputation.

**A General Election Rumour**

In the midst of the confident prognostications of a long and triumphant Session by Liberal politicians comes a curious conflicting rumour of a general election in May. This is based on the unusual activity being displayed by both of the party official caucuses all over the country at the present time, and also on a remarkable statement reported to have been made on Monday night by the Marquis of Lincolnshire, who as Earl Carrington was formerly President of the Board of Agriculture and a member of the Cabinet. The words attributed to the Marquis are a reference to "the first meeting of the House in June next when the Liberal Party is again returned to power." If these are correctly reported, they certainly seem to indicate an early appeal to the electorate. Suffragists will do well to be prepared for whatever may unexpectedly turn up.

**George Lansbury to Speak at the Kingsway Hall**

We have great pleasure in informing our readers that Mr. George Lansbury has promised to be one of the speakers at the great meeting organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship to be held in the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, February 26. Mr. Lansbury has just returned from a visit to America, where he has been addressing a number of meetings, including several on the question of Woman Suffrage. He has fully recovered his health, and speaks with enthusiasm of the interest shown by American men and women in the progress of the cause in this country. For further particulars of the meeting we refer our readers to page 285 of this issue. We would also remind them of the special reunion of Fellows and friends which is taking place to-night (Friday) in the small Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, at 8.30.

**Formation of a New Suffrage Society**

We publish the announcement in another column of the formation of a new suffrage organisation to be known as the "United Suffragists," which will include both men and women. Numerous as are the existing suffrage societies, the fact that the men and women composing the new body consider that they will be able to do better work in connection with it than with any of the others is sufficient justification for its existence; and in common with all Suffragists who put the cause above any sectional interest we extend to the newcomer our most hearty welcome. We note among the *personnel* some interesting names of well-known men and women who have not hitherto been identified with suffrage societies, and we hope that their connection with the new body is full of good augury to themselves and the movement. We are glad to be able to announce that as the result of a business arrangement with this paper, an account of the activities of the United Suffragists will be found each week in our columns.

**Demonstrations on February 14**

Our readers will be interested in the announcement that the Northern Men's Federation, which has done such effective propaganda in the past, is holding a mass meeting in the Memorial Hall, London, on Saturday afternoon in next week, February 14, at 3 p.m., to give their mandate for a Government measure for Woman Suffrage. Contingents from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Morpeth, Berwick, Newcastle, and Manchester will take part, and the meeting will be open free to the public. On the same day the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies are organising a monster demonstration in the Albert Hall in the evening at 8 p.m.

**The Bishop of London and Forcible Feeding**

The Bishop of London went to Holloway Gaol last week in accordance with his promise (the Bishop of Kensington being refused permission to accompany him), and interviewed Miss Rachel Peace. He subsequently published an account of his investigation, in which he stated that Miss Peace appeared to be in good health and denied having constantly screamed; she refused to listen to the proposal which the Bishop brought her from Mr. McKenna that she should be released on pledging herself to abstain from militant action in the future, but complained that she was being treated differently from other Suffragist prisoners, who were released after undergoing the hunger strike. The Bishop says that he reported her complaint to the Home Secretary, but that he refused to make any change in her treatment.

**Investigation Inconclusive**

The Bishop did not apparently make any enquiries from Miss Peace as to whether she was as a matter of fact undergoing forcible feeding, nor did he attempt to see for himself this operation in progress, either upon Miss Peace or upon the other Suffragist prisoners, Miss Phyllis Brady or Miss Kitty Marion, who are understood to be undergoing it. Under these circumstances, the result of the Bishop's investigation cannot be considered to be in any way satisfactory. It is unfortunate that at the time of the W.S.P.U. deputation to the Bishop, the fact that Miss Brady and Miss Marion were probably being fed by force was not known, as in that event he might have been asked to see these prisoners in addition, and to ascertain whether the story related by Miss Ansell related to them instead of to Miss Peace. But even on the points which he had before him, the Bishop does not seem to have made a full investigation, and the fact that he did not see forcible feeding in operation renders his enquiry almost valueless.

**An "Amicable" Settlement**

As we anticipated last week, the miners and their leaders have been successful in securing the ejectment from the Sharleston Colliery of the score of girls who had been taken on to act as sorters at the pit brow. This arrangement, by which the women have been thrown overboard to smooth the position between the miners and the colliery owners, is euphemistically described in the *Manchester Guardian* as an "amicable" settlement. Miss Gore-Booth, writing to the papers, points out that in view of these facts there is something in the nature of a double political life about Labour M.P.'s, who claim the support of women by advocating Woman Suffrage and who at the same time do all in their power to prevent women from earning their living in a way which they desire to do.

**A New Crusade Against Women**

The *Daily News* book on "The Churches and London" and the United Temperance Council are jointly responsible for a new crusade which is to be waged against women. "Too many women go to public-houses," they say; "this must be stopped." Well, what about the men who go to public-houses? They are many times as numerous and far more often drink to excess. Let us face this question fairly and honestly. Either public-houses and the whole use of alcohol is wicked and dangerous. In that case let it be swept away from use by men as well as by women, from the houses of the rich as well as from the public-houses of the poor. Or else it is the present form of our public-houses which is wrong; in which case let us alter them so that they become, as in Germany, decent places to which a man and his wife and his family can go for an orderly evening's amusement. But let us have no more of this attack on women, who are the sober, and quiet, and well-behaved sex.

**Items of Interest**

The *Daily Herald* is having a special suffrage week. Every day articles are appearing on the question. An article by one of the editors of this paper is due to appear to-day (Friday), entitled "Woman Suffrage Blocks the Way."

A Private Member's Bill is to be introduced this session to enable women to be solicitors. Lord Robert Cecil is one of the backers of the Bill.

The suggestion that Mr. Hobhouse may succeed Lord Denman as Governor-General of Australia has, as we anticipated, called forth a vigorous protest from Australian women.


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# THE EFFECT OF THE WOMAN'S VOTE IN NEW ZEALAND

**By Margaret Hodge**

"The Land of the Morning"—the name is both poetic and significant, for no one who visits this beautiful country can fail to realise that the golden glow of hope rests upon the summits of her lofty mountains and gleams in the waters of her lovely lakes.

"Sister of the mountain mists, and never to be holden
With the weary sophistries that dimmer eyes embolden,
Oh, the dark Dunedin town, shot with the green and golden."

Jessie Mackay (N.Z.).

The magnificent wealth of legend, too, suggested by the Maori names, Maui and Rona, differentiate these islands from the other British dominions of the Southern hemisphere, which are singularly poor in such poetic association, while the mysterious charm and dignity of the subject race, and the mutual respect of the British and the Maori, form a striking contrast to the relations of white to coloured peoples in other parts of the world. This land, too, saw the dawn of the woman's movement; for New Zealand enfranchised her women in 1893, and was thus a pioneer in the Southern hemisphere. She had her great woman leader in Mrs. Sheppard, and her John Stuart Mill in Sir John Hall, and they succeeded in bringing their theory to bear upon practical politics.

### The Vote Easily Won

The Vote was won with very little difficulty, for there was no formidable prejudice to combat. The women of New Zealand have had to acquire their political education, through the exercise of the vote, instead of in the contest to acquire it. One lady told me that in petitioning for signatures for the Bill, she had been told to go and darn her husband's socks, which gross insult made her desist from active work for the cause; and this seems rather to prove my assertion. It was natural that a privilege that was easily won should be little valued, and the woman's vote did not at first seem materially to affect political life or legislation. Many women voted according to the dictates of their male relatives. A story is told by a servant girl, who said she was going with her seven sisters to the poll, and they were all going to vote as father told them. This was in the early days of the woman's emancipation; but experience of political power and the keen sense of responsibility which has grown up with it, have quite altered the women's attitude. The female portion of the community study questions for themselves, attend meetings and read papers upon both sides. They are even demanding the right to sit in Parliament, which their Australian sisters have already won. They are eager readers of political news, and I feel sure the Press in all countries of the world would be ardently in favour of women's franchise if the leading editors could contrast, as I have done, Australasia and South Africa.

### Why the Press Should Support Suffrage

In the former region every woman is armed with her newspaper in omnibus, tram, or train as a matter of course. In South Africa men read about the money market, and occasionally some striking sensational incident, but only a few women take any interest in the papers at all. Why should they, as they are political outcasts?

The keen consciousness of civic duty that has been aroused by the possession of the vote is shown in the number and activity of the women's societies. Of the W.C.T.U. I need not speak, except in heartfelt gratitude for their generous co-operation and prompt belief in the suffrage cause in Great Britain. "If we don't understand all they do, we can at least trust them," said one woman to me. The work of the W.C.T.U. is world-famed, and the no-licence districts of New Zealand speak eloquently to the value of it in the prosperity, industry, alertness, and, above all, the keen spiritual and intellectual insight of the inhabitants.

The Housewives' Union is doing admirable work. It is an association of women to keep down prices and to obtain pure and unadulterated food. Armed, as its members are, with the weapon of the vote, it is able to effect more than its sister association in Canada, and will probably succeed in finally abolishing the middle men. The political and social leagues are innumerable, and there is one specially devoted to the needs of women and children.

### Care of Infant and Child Life

It has been often stated that New Zealand has the highest rate of natural increase in the world; but loath as I am to deprive the Dominion of any of her honours, I am bound to state that the Commonwealth has beaten her recorded birth-rate for 1913. The figures stand thus:—

Australia ..... 28.65 per thousand.
New Zealand ..... 26.48 per thousand.

The Dominion still keeps the proud privilege of recording the lowest rate of infant mortality. This rate, which in the five years which preceded the women's vote (1888-93) for the four chief towns of the Dominion averaged 114½ per thousand, for the five years (1907-12) was only 68½ per thousand. Every successive year shows a drop in the rate of infant mortality, and in 1912 the death-rate of infants under one year was 51.12 per thousand, or a little over 5 per cent. for the whole of New Zealand. The rate for the United Kingdom in 1909 was nearly 10¾ per cent. (107 per thousand).

### Reduction of Mothers' Death-rate

By the excellent arrangements in the Government Maternity Homes and the skilled work of the Plunket nurses the deaths of mothers in their confinements have been reduced from 5.86 per thousand in 1903 to 3.73 per thousand in 1912.

The institution of pensions to widows with children under fourteen years of age and to the wives of the incurably insane, ensures to the little ones a mother's care in the home, if their father is no longer able to be the breadwinner. The two Acts which acknowledge the economic partnership of husband and wife (Municipal Franchise and Old Age Pensions Acts) destroy the idea of the dependence of one parent upon the other. The Divorce Act, which is equal for both sexes, helps to raise the standard of morality. The industrial and technical schools, the high schools and Universities give an equal opportunity to both sexes; and all professions are as freely open to women as to men. The Acts regulating the election to local bodies put women on the same footing as men; and, in April, 1913, each of the four chief towns of New Zealand returned a woman at the head of the poll for the Hospital and Charities Board, while a woman lawyer, Miss Ellen Melville, was for the first time elected to the City Council at Auckland, and she got her chief support from the navvies and dock labourers.

Juvenile Courts and the probation of youthful offenders in their own homes have checked the development of criminal tendencies in many cases. The indeterminate sentence is the best punishment for men found guilty of crimes against little children. Justice Edwards, addressing the Grand Jury of Auckland in February, 1913, upon criminals of this class, said: "I want to point out to you that in most of these cases the physical harm is, perhaps, nil, but the moral harm is enormous; you know as well as I do the danger of familiarising the mind of youth with vice." In these words, we see how the human point of view is taken by the interpreter of the laws in a land where women are important factors in political life.

### Protecting Married Women

With regard to property, too, the married woman is safeguarded by the Testator's Family Maintenance Act, which regards the man as a lunatic who leaves his property away from his wife and children, and administers his estate; and by the Act enforcing a man, inebriate or idle, to do work for the State and giving his earnings to his wife and children.

In the industrial world the principle of equal pay for equal work is recognised in the Factory Acts, with a minimum wage of 25s. per week. An eight hours' day and healthy conditions of work are secured for all. A particular tenderness is shown in the protection of a woman's reputation. She can secure compensation for slander without proving special damage; just as in Australia a human sympathy is apparent in the addition to the Old Age Pensions Act which enables the working woman to enjoy her pension from sixty instead of sixty-five years of age. These two Acts are the outcome of the new chivalry which understands women's needs because it has studied their point of view. The record of work done during twenty-one years is no insignificant one, but it is nothing to what the women of the Dominion will accomplish now that the toil and courage, the heroism and sufferings of their sisters in Great Britain have fully awakened them to the value and the power of the Vote.

# THE NEXT THING

**Many Hands Make Light Work**

To avail ourselves to the full of the opportunity afforded us by the forthcoming Mass Meeting in the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, February 26—to bring hundreds of new listeners, hitherto ignorant of the real meaning of the Woman's Movement, to hear Miss Lena Ashwell, Sir Harry Johnston, Mr. Lansbury, and the other speakers on that occasion—this is the task presented to the readers of Votes for Women during the next three weeks. Let us concentrate our thoughts and work upon it.

Let it be borne in mind that the people outside the forty-eight Suffrage organisations now in existence will see no notice of this meeting, for they do not read the Suffrage papers, nor do they see that section of the Daily Press that is fair or favourable. Otherwise they would be of us already. If their interest is to be aroused, it must be done by personal talk; if their steps are to be turned in the direction of Kingsway Hall, it must be by invitation and persuasion.

### Make a Social Evening of It!

So let every Suffragist who can come to the meeting make a point of bringing at least one or two unconverted friends. Take their tickets. Invite them to join your party. Make an evening social function out of it. There will never be a better opportunity for gaining their ear and winning their sympathy. The three speakers associated on the platform with the Editors of this paper possess a wide public reputation. Each touches a different world of interests. They are drawn into union not by any party political cry, but by a common conviction of the supreme importance of the question of women's emancipation and its bearing on the still wider issues of human liberty and racial evolution. Each has a special message for his or her own world, as well as a universal message to the whole community. We rely on Fellows and readers to fill every seat in the hall.

### Practical Suggestions

The following ways of service are suggested, and promises of help should be made at once.

The purchase outright of half a dozen or more tickets to distribute by gift or sale.

The personal distribution of handbills by canvass or by post.

The exhibition of posters in public places.

Insertion of advertisement in London local papers, followed up by letters and paragraphs for publication in the same.

These and other plans for advertising the meeting and filling the hall will be discussed at the Reunion of Fellows and friends in the Essex Hall at 8.30 to-night (Friday).

**Emmeline Pethick Lawrence**

### FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

*(Up to Jan. 31st, 1914)*

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| Subscriptions already acknowledged .. | 1,441 | 17 | 5 |
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# THE EVE OF THE SESSION

## Demand For Government Measure—Cabinet Ministers Suffer for their Il-liberalism—Anger of Women and Electors—To Glasgow by the Back Door

### MR. RUNCIMAN AND A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

**Minister of Agriculture Says Government Measure has no "Extra Force"—Hopes for Another Private Bill**

In a recent interview with the North-Western Federation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, at Brampton, Mr. Runciman expressed himself as opposed to the idea of a Government measure for Woman Suffrage because, in his opinion, this would merely mean the defeat of the Government, which he would regard as a "calamity."

An interesting feature of the interview, the object of which was to demand the introduction of a Government measure, was the presence upon the deputation of several representatives of large bodies of electors, such as members or officials of various Liberal Associations and of Trades and Labour Councils, while other schools of opinion were represented by the Bishop of Barrow, and by officials of the Women's Co-operative Guilds and the British Women's Temperance Association, besides, of course, many Suffragist officials.

#### THE DEPUTATION'S DEMANDS

After Mrs. F. W. Chance and Mrs. F. E. Marshall had dealt with the women's demand for a Government measure, and with the strong feeling in the country revealed to them during their recent Pilgrimage, and the Bishop of Barrow had declared his conviction that the heart and soul of the movement is a deep moral upheaval among many of the best women in the country, Mr. Eggleston, President of the Carlisle Trades and Labour Council, spoke for the organised workers of the district.

#### "Belated Legislation"

It was, he and his friends considered, belated legislation to ask from a Liberal Government. If a private Bill was again introduced, he was afraid it would share the same fate as previous Bills.

Mr. Runciman: Why do you say that? On what ground has a private Bill less chance of being passed than a Government Bill? Are you not suggesting that private members would not vote for the Bill if they are free to vote as they please, but that under artificial arrangements, with "whipping," we might compel members to vote against their private views? Are you likely to get Women's Suffrage through under those conditions?

Mr. Eggleston: There are 423 members pledged to Women's Suffrage. Out of 263 Liberals 204 are supporters. Out of the Ministry there are 30 out of the 47 prepared to support the measure. All that is required is reasonable facility, backed up by the Government, and we should have no fear as to the issue. Mr. Eggleston added that against previous Bills all sorts of bogies had been run.

#### Damaging the Liberal Party

Mr. F. E. Marshall then spoke from the Liberal point of view. He said that Liberals still hoped to see the question put on the party programme for the next election. The present state of things was damaging to the Liberal Party.

#### MR. RUNCIMAN'S REPLY

Mr. Runciman then replied. "I need hardly tell you," he said, "I have listened with great interest to everything that has been said this evening, and with a good deal of it I find myself in agreement. The most useful new facts are the evidence of a change of opinion in favour of Women's Suffrage in this district. Every scrap of evidence that can be brought to the knowledge, not only of the Government, but of members of the House is, of course, of value in proving that the anti-Suffragists are mistaken when they say that there is no widespread demand for Women's Suffrage. I am afraid that whatever unpopularity it suffers from at the present time is the work of the militants. The exacerbation caused by their action, such as we see in the protests that come from one's own constituents, when one takes a strong line in favour of Women's Suffrage—all this has had a great influence on private members, and the only way we can hope to get a Suffrage Bill through is to have private members supported by their constituents.

#### What a Government Measure Would Mean

"There is another duty of members of Parliament who are in favour of Women's Suffrage, and that is that they should take their share in the formation of opinion amongst their constituents. I have no sympathy with members who declare themselves in favour of Women's Suffrage, but are afraid to open their mouths on the subject in their own areas. I do not agree with Mr. Eggleston in his description of the extra force which comes from a Government Bill. If the Government were to take up the Bill it would not go through; it would merely mean the defeat of the Government, and that I should regard as a calamity."

#### What Ice?

Mr. Runciman said he had never wavered himself, and whatever his views might be on the precise details of the measure, he would be prepared to vote for the second reading of any Women's Suffrage Bill in order to break the ice. Mr. Marshall made a good point when he said that Liberals ought to be in favour of Women's Suffrage. That was his (the speaker's) view. If the second reading of the Dickinson Bill had been secured last year there would have been a good chance of getting the measure through. What we have to do now, he contended, was to consolidate opinion in the country, and then bring another Bill before the House. When that time came he would be in the right lobby.

#### "Cheers"

One of the newspaper reports of this interview concludes with the bracketed word "Cheers." Now, what was there to cheer about?

Is it, we ask, so great a thing that at this time of day a Liberal Minister should declare his intention of recording a meaningless vote in favour of an academic second reading of a Bill that the Government has no intention of helping through? We hope the reporter in question was indulging a fertile imagination when he heard those cheers!

### THE CHANCELLOR'S IDEAS OF LIBERAL REFORM

We hope that the North Monmouthshire Women's Liberal Social Council broke into open revolt after hearing the message from Mr. Lloyd George which was read to them at a meeting by Miss Olwen Lloyd George last week. The report in the *Times* gives the message, but adds no particulars of what was said about it by women, still deprived of their enfranchisement, to whom it was addressed.

#### "A Great Year for Liberals"

The message began with the words: "1914 is a great year for Liberals." Naturally, we supposed that this meant the announcement of a Government Bill for Woman Suffrage, since in no other way can any semblance of greatness now be achieved by a discredited Liberal Party, nor its final degradation be averted. Nothing of the kind, however, followed this preliminary trumpet blast. Welsh Disestablishment and Home Rule for Ireland were to be the first signs of Liberal greatness in 1914. Then came this amazing sentence:—

"Abolition of plural voting comes next, and then the way will be cleared for the great programme of social reform which has for its aim cleansing this land from the evils and miseries of undeserved poverty."

On his own showing, this cannot be effectually done without the aid of the woman's vote; for Mr. Lloyd George has said as much on more than one occasion recently. Yet not a word in this forecast for 1914 does he say as to the enfranchisement of women. The crowning insult of his message to the North Monmouth Women Liberals is contained in his concluding hope that "North Monmouth will long preserve its unique and unbroken record of undivided championship of the people's cause."

Our own hope for North Monmouth is expressed in the opening sentence of this account.

### THE MANDATE FROM THE NORTH

Preparations are going ahead in Scotland for the descent upon London, next Saturday week, of a body of delegates from the North, armed with their mandate from the electors to demand a Government measure for Women's enfranchisement. A meeting typical of many was held in Mr. Lyell's constituency in Edinburgh last Sunday afternoon, when a letter was read from one of Mr. Lyell's constituents saying that the writer, having fought for Liberalism all his life, meant to try to turn out Mr. Lyell at the next General Election because of his attitude to Woman Suffrage. This, added Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, who presided at the meeting, was the attitude of thousands of electors whose feelings, though perhaps bottled up now, would find expression later at the polls. She went on to say that the Federation were opposed to the Leader of the Liberal Party who drives his party into the lobby against Woman Suffrage, and having betrayed and exasperated the women, proceeds to whip members into the Cat and Mouse lobby. If the men of the country, she concluded, would make no sacrifice to help women, then they must stop criticising them and their methods.

#### The Convention

The Convention, which meets in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, at 3 o'clock on February 14, is only part of the demonstration arranged by Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, Founder and President of the Federation. It will be followed on Sunday afternoon, February 15, by a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square at 2.30; and on Sunday evening there will be a reception and entertainment by the Actresses' Franchise League at the Caxton Hall. On Monday afternoon, February 16, the delegates will visit the House of Commons.

An article by Mrs. Sennett, explaining the objects and origin of the Northern Men's Federation, will be found on page 285.

# HECKLING THE COALITION

### MR. MACDONALD, M.P., SILENCED BY SUFFRAGISTS

There were stormy scenes at a Labour demonstration at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, on rising to speak, was interrupted by women Suffragists from all parts of the hall. The interruptions, which were numerous and prolonged, continued until the close of the meeting, and, according to the *Glasgow Herald*, some twenty women were ejected, as well as several men. All the speakers, except Miss Bondfield, were severely heckled by the interrupters, who loudly called upon the Labour Party to stop talking and do something for women's enfranchisement, and reproached them for failing to take action to prevent the torture of women prisoners by the process of forcible feeding.

#### "Then Give Us the Vote!"

Mr. MacDonald was silenced repeatedly by the uproar in the course of his opening speech. He appealed in vain to the audience to take no notice of the interruptions, and used a large handbell in the fruitless attempt to attract attention to himself. In one of his appeals he said: "Let these rather heartbreaking scenes go on in private, and do not give any attention to them." He was met by a prompt retort from a woman in the gallery on his right, "Then give us the vote!"

But he is not reported to have appealed to the audience and to the stewards to desist from using force to the interrupters, many of whom were ejected with extreme violence. Presumably Mr. MacDonald, like Liberal Cabinet Ministers, prefers to take advantage of the hysterical conduct of those who make the real disturbance at political meetings by ejecting interrupters, rather than give a straightforward and statesmanlike answer himself to their perfectly legitimate interruptions. Like those same Cabinet Ministers, he has no statesmanlike answer to give, and nothing else, he knows well enough, would silence his interrupters.

#### A Parade of Democratic Feeling

His unctuous remark at the end of the meeting, that this kind of thing "was in no sense going to turn them against doing justice to women whenever an opportunity occurred," was not appreciated by Suffragists in the audience, who had just heard him say, in the course of his speech, that the cause of Woman Suffrage was not that of the rich woman, who wanted a vote because her gardener has one, but that of the woman toiling in the factory or starving in the streets. That was the woman he wanted to see on the register, and no franchise narrower or less than that would satisfy the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

Suffragists of experience know how to appraise at its true value this ingenious perversion of their aims; and it is no wonder that Mr. MacDonald was unable to secure a hearing by a parade of democratic feeling that could scarcely have been expected to deceive any one of intelligence in his audience.

### HECKLING SIR JOHN SIMON

Sir John Simon addressed a large meeting in the Rotherhithe Town Hall on Tuesday evening. He began by saying that they were on the eve of a Parliamentary session in which history was likely to be made. He trusted that it would be history which would show that the country realised its great democratic opportunities, and was determined to carry them through. "By giving votes to women!" cried a voice from the *platform*. A man who was a Suffragist was actually occupying a seat on the platform of the Cabinet Minister's carefully guarded and selected meeting! He was at once ejected.

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE SLINKS INTO GLASGOW

No doubt one of our contemporaries is unconsciously humorous in stating, last Wednesday morning, that "Mr. Lloyd George arrived in Glasgow last night, *disappointing a party that was waiting for him*." The italics are ours.

We felt on reading this that such frankness was more characteristic of Votes for Women than of any London daily. Then we read on, and found that the disappointment was occasioned by the non-appearance of Mr. Lloyd George, who, for reasons not stated though widely understood, stopped the train at Rutherglen, some six miles from Glasgow, and from there slunk with a police escort into the city where he was to address a great meeting on his land policy!

We can understand the Chancellor's caution when we read further that the large crowd waiting for him on the Glasgow platform included numbers of women, and consequently numbers of police and detectives. What we cannot understand, in the face of all this, is why Mr. Lloyd George told a Liberal crowd at Carlisle, on his way up, that—

"Liberalism is now on top—(cheers)—and it means to remain there until it has completed its task." (More cheers.)

Why, it has not even begun its task as long as women are unenfranchised! And if Mr. Lloyd George thinks otherwise, why did he do that back-door entrance into Glasgow?

### HECKLING AT WOOLWICH

Mr. J. Rowlands, Liberal member for Dartford, was severely heckled when addressing a meeting at Woolwich last week. Two Suffragists were present, who made it extremely difficult for Mr. Rowlands to continue his address at all coherently. "We have no vote," they said, "so we are going to have our say in this way," and they reminded the speaker of "Taxation without representation," and all the other Liberal principles he was forsaking. "Women's suffrage," said Mr. Rowlands, "will come at the right time." No wonder his Suffragist hearers thought it was time to wake him up to his responsibilities. One local paper devoted about two-thirds of a column to an account of the heckling and one-third to the meeting

# PLURAL VOTING AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

## Labour Conference Favours Academic Principle, but Rejects Practical Proposal—Mr. MacDonald, M.P., Prefers Plural Voting Bill to a Measure of Justice for Women

**An important debate on Woman Suffrage took place at the final sitting of the Labour Party Conference at Glasgow, last Friday. A resolution reaffirming the Conference's previous resolutions in favour of votes for women having been passed by an overwhelming majority, Alderman Sanders on behalf of the Fabian Society proceeded to put this universal show of support to the test by moving a definite resolution requesting the Parliamentary Labour Party to vote against any Plural Voting Bill unless the Government had first enfranchised women. The worthlessness of the previous vote was then revealed. The resolution embodying this practical suggestion was thrown out, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking on behalf of the executive of the Labour Party, made a remarkable speech against it, in which he characterised the Plural Voting Bill as a registration and not a franchise measure, and on this ground defended the Party's action in supporting the Bill. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., supported the Fabian resolution, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., spoke against it.**

**A moral was pointed to the votelessness of women, thus left unremedied by the Conference, in a subsequent debate at the same sitting on the Insurance Act, when Miss Mary Macarthur spoke of the hardships that pressed upon women in the administration of that Act.**

### THE SUFFRAGE DEBATE

#### THE ACADEMIC RESOLUTION

On behalf of the Women's Labour League Dr. Marion Phillips proposed the following resolution:—

"This conference reaffirms its previous decisions on Women's Suffrage and declares that the Government can only redeem the pledge it has given by bringing in a Bill to enfranchise both men and women, and requests the Parliamentary Labour Party, in view of the unsatisfactory statements of members of the Cabinet that Women's Suffrage cannot be dealt with in this Parliament, to raise the question of their enfranchisement at the earliest opportunity next session."

#### Leaving It to Them

In her speech, Dr. Phillips said the Women's Labour League left it with the Labour members to decide the best time to raise the question. Mr. G. A. Olley seconded the resolution.

The only opposition came from Mr. J. Battle, who was greeted with cries of "Vote!" He contended that there was a substantial body in the movement who contributed to its funds who were not in favour of the change advocated. He had not as yet seen any reason to believe that women, as a body, would like the vote.

#### Emphatic?

Mr. A. Henderson pointed out that at last year's conference there was a very full debate and a decision on the question. It was a most decisive vote, and all the resolution asked to-day was that the conference reaffirm its action calling upon the Government to fulfil its pledges. He hoped the decision would be just as emphatic as it was last year. (Cheers.)

On the resolution being put it was overwhelmingly carried, there being only two dissentients.

### PLURAL VOTING BILL

#### THE FABIAN RESOLUTION

Alderman W. Stephen Sanders moved the following resolution on behalf of the Fabian Society:—

**"That this conference requests the Parliamentary Labour Party to vote against any Plural Voting Bill unless a Government Bill enfranchising women has been previously introduced."**

In moving it he said that the Fabian Society brought forward the resolution because they contended that the Plural Voting Bill, if carried, would postpone the extension of the suffrage to women, and even to those men who were at present shut out owing to the property qualification. The Bill was in effect a Franchise Bill, and every time the franchise was considered without dealing with the position of women, the more difficult it was to get Parliament to re-open the question of the suffrage. The Liberals, for party reasons, were most anxious to pass the Bill, and on that account an opportunity presented itself to the Parliamentary Labour Party to secure something more. If they accepted the resolution and acted upon it, the Government would be compelled either to drop the measure entirely, or couple it with a Bill granting votes to women. By taking a definite stand on this matter the Labour Party would most likely exert the pressure needed to make the Government keep its pledges to the women.

#### The Official Opposition

Mr. C. Priestley (Manchester and Salford Trades Council), having seconded the resolution, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., who stated that he was speaking in accordance with a decision of the Executive Committee, said their position regarding the franchise remained unchanged. The conference had passed a resolution, and that resolution they whole-heartedly accepted. As to the Plural Voting Bill, that was not really a Franchise Bill; it was a Registration Bill, and whilst he quite admitted there was some force in the argument that registration and franchise were very intimately connected, nevertheless there was a difference. That difference the Labour Party in the House of Commons decided to recognise when by a big majority they voted in favour of the Plural Voting Bill. They would not support the Plural Voting Bill if they believed that it in any way debarred the re-opening of the franchise question. They did not believe it did, and they did not believe it would. As a matter of fact, they believed it would stimulate and hasten the re-opening of the franchise question. They wanted to support the Plural Voting Bill because there were a good many constituencies they held that they would hold more securely, and there were constituencies which they did not hold that they would hold when plural voting had been done away with. (Hear, hear.) He had been requested to ask them to reject the resolution. (Applause.)

#### Mr. Keir Hardie

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., asked to be permitted, as representing the minority of the party in the House of Commons and in the Executive Committee, to put their point of view. The Plural Voting Bill—and here he totally disagreed with Mr. MacDonald—was intentionally meant to postpone adult suffrage. They remembered when the big Bill of the Government was defeated through the Speaker's ruling that it was only then that the Plural Voting Bill was introduced. The Bill was purely a party measure in the interests of the party now in office. It was intended to keep the young men of the country longer out of the vote, and for his part he refused to accept a Bill to help the Liberal Party—a Bill which, in his opinion, would entail the sacrifice of the whole question of adult suffrage. (Applause.)

#### Mr. Henderson Regrets

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., the secretary of the party, said he much regretted the speech to which they had just listened. The Executive Committee were unanimous in requesting Mr. MacDonald to make the statement he had made. They were satisfied that the Plural Voting Bill, although it might be intended to assist some other party, was going to assist to a considerable degree their own party. (Hear, hear, and "Question.") He ventured to say, if the difficulty regarding the women's question had not arisen, there would not have been a single voice raised in any Labour conference against the abolition of the plural vote.

#### The One White Sheep

Mr. Ben Turner, as a matter of explanation, said that he voted against the majority of the Executive Committee in requesting Mr. MacDonald to make the statement he had done.

Mr. Henderson: I forgot that there was a minority of one.

On a vote by card, the Fabian Society resolution was defeated by 1,856,000 to 89,000.

### REFERENCES TO WOMEN'S WORK IN THE STATE

#### Women Postal Clerks

As showing how one-sided all legislation must be so long as women are excluded from practical politics, other subjects discussed at the Labour Conference continually provoked references to women's position in the labour market. On Thursday in last week, for instance, when the Holt Report was under discussion, Miss Margaret Bondfield said the conditions in the Post Office were bad enough from the men's point of view, but they were very much worse from the women's point of view. Sir Alexander King had stated the reason the Post Office employed women was because they were cheaper than men, and if women had to be paid the same as men, the Post Office would cease to employ them. That was disgraceful.

Mr. Tyson Wilson, M.P., replying to this, said that anyone consulting the report of the proceedings of the Holt Committee would find that he moved that the salaries of the women should be increased.

#### Insurance Act Grievances

In the debate on the Insurance Act, which took place on Friday, just after the adverse vote had been cast on the Plural Voting Bill resolution, Miss Macarthur spoke of the accusation of malingering that had been brought against the women, and of the assertion that the sickness benefit of women was heavy owing to malingering. That was not the case. The heavy sickness was due to the fact that, receiving low wages, women were badly nourished and badly housed, and that many of them had the double strain of child-bearing and industrial work. They were told that women who were receiving sickness benefit were not to perform maternal duties. They were told of benefit being refused because women had been found making themselves a cup of tea or washing the baby's face! They were told that pregnancy was not a condition of illness, but a natural condition, and did not entitle a woman to sickness benefit under the Insurance Act. There was no time when money was more necessary than at such a time.

# THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

## Formation of a New Woman Suffrage Society of Men and Women

We are informed that a new suffrage organisation has come into existence, in which men and women will both be included. From the names of the Vice-Presidents and members of the Committee which have been sent to us, and which we publish below, it is evident that some active and vigorous work may be expected from the new body.

The Society accepts the common policy of all the existing suffrage societies in demanding a "Government Measure to enfranchise women on equal terms with men." It is non-party, but will vigorously oppose any Government which refuses to introduce a suffrage measure. It will equally oppose any party which supports such a Government.

On the thorny question of methods no hard and fast line is laid down, the Memorandum saying that the Society will "recognise various forms of suffrage activity as of value," and that membership is open to militants and non-militants. We shall have, therefore, to wait to see what are the developments in this direction. In the meantime all who have the cause of woman suffrage at heart will wish the new organisation a short and prosperous career, ending in the success of our cause.

The text of the Memorandum which has been forwarded to us is as follows:

THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS,
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

#### COMMITTEE

Miss Lena Ashwell.
Mr. H. J. Gillespie (Hon. Treasurer).
Mr. Gerald Gould.
Mrs. H. D. Harben.
Mr. Henry W. Nevinson.
Mr. John Scurr.
Miss Evelyn Sharp.
Mrs. Frederick Whelen.
Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Ayrton Gould.
Secretary, Mr. Charles Gray.

A Society called the United Suffragists has been formed of men and women who—

(1) Believe that men and women can usefully co-operate on equal terms in one organisation for the enfranchisement of women.

(2) Regard Woman Suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, and will work without considering the interests of any political party.

(3) Recognise various forms of Suffrage activity as of value, and are ready to contribute any kind of service according to their capacity and conviction.

#### Membership

Membership is open to everyone who endorses the above policy, irrespective of membership of any other Society, militant or non-militant. Special efforts will be made to enrol those Suffragists, of whom it is believed there are many, who have not hitherto joined any Suffrage Society, and whose services to the cause, consequently, have been to some extent ineffective.

#### Objects

The objects are (1) To secure a Government measure to enfranchise women on equal terms with men; (2) To organise a vigorous campaign of opposition to any Government that refuses or neglects to introduce and pass into law such a measure, and equally to oppose any Party giving general support to such a Government.

#### Methods

1. In view of the importance of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government from the constituencies, one of the chief activities of the Society will be to establish an Election Campaign in Parliamentary Divisions. In pursuance of this policy a great point will be made of raising the question on all possible occasions, by demonstrations, deputations, heckling at public meetings of all kinds, and by following the advice of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to "keep on pestering."

2. It will be the aim of the Society throughout to avoid overlapping and to work in harmony with all existing Suffrage associations. If the Society is not undertaking at the moment the particular kind of work for which a member feels qualified, such a member can be put in touch with some other organisation engaged in that form of activity.

3. Newspapers will be scrutinized and efforts will be made to correct "journalistic inexactitudes," and, at the same time, to rouse the public to communicate true facts to the Press, both in London and the provinces.

4. The members of the Society will keep in view the important truth that a merry heart goes all the way, and that a spirit of comradeship, good temper, and sense of humour has always characterised the Woman's Fight for Freedom.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS

In the following list of Vice-Presidents will be found the names of many men and women, distinguished in other walks of life, who have not hitherto identified themselves with any suffrage organisation.

Mrs. Hertha Ayrton (the distinguished scientist).
Mrs. Brailsford.
R. W. Chambers, Esq., D.Litt.
Rev. Dr. Cobb (Rector of St. Ethelburga).
Mrs. Cobden Hirst.
The Hon. Phyllis and the Hon. Audrey Coleridge.
St. John Ervine, Esq. (the well-known author and dramatist).
A. W. Evans, Esq.
Dr. L. Garrett Anderson.
Miss Beatrice Harraden.
Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.
Laurence Housman, Esq.
Mrs. James Ivory.
G. L. Jessop, Esq. (the famous cricketer).
Sir Harry Johnston.
George Lansbury, Esq.
Rev. J. M. Maillard (of All Hallows, Poplar).
Rev. W. H. Marcon.
Lady Olivier (wife of the ex-Governor of Jamaica).
Miss Gertrude Peppercorn (the well-known pianist).
Mrs. Pember Reeves.
Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., F.R.S., LL.D., &c.
H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.
Mrs. Julia Scurr.
Dr. H. J. F. Simson, F.R.C.S.
Professor Caroline Spurgeon (the only woman occupying a Professorial Chair at the Universities).
Major-General Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B.
Mr. and Mrs. Baillie Weaver.
Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Webbe (the well-known cricketer and his wife, the social reformer).
Mr. and Mrs. Ben Webster.
Mrs. Israel Zangwill.

# "THE CHILDHOOD OF THE RACE"

The thinking conscious world is divided to-day into those who fear the present spirit of unrest at work in modern society and those who hail it as a manifestation of the vitality of the human spirit. Conventions, authorities and long-established beliefs are crumbling and collapsing on every hand. In the world of labour new forces are being developed that baffle the leaders of the old school of thought. Revolt against age-old traditions is spreading amongst women throughout the world. Orthodoxy no longer possesses its hold upon the religious thought of the people. Looking below the surface we see that the forces of upheaval that are at work are the forces, not of death, but of life. On every side that which is being acclaimed is the greatness and the sublimity of the human spirit, which outgrows all the habitations that have been built to contain it.

The problem that presents itself to parents and teachers at the present time is how in this rapidly changing world of ideals and concepts to equip the children committed to their charge for the environment they will have to meet, and to provide them with principles of conduct founded on truth so universal and so deep that no transitions of thought can affect its security. Those who are conscious of this necessity will welcome a new publication—"The Tree of Knowledge," by Lady Sybil Smith*—outlining a series of lessons for children on the first half of the book of Genesis.

The "lessons" are full of fascinating stories, of real men and women who have made their mark in the records of history and also of parables and ancient lore drawn from the various scriptures of other races and religions. We reproduce below, by permission, one of these stories, told in the first place by the Swâmi Vivekananda and published in its complete form in the edition of his works that is issued by the Prabuddha Bharata Press.

In "The Tree of Knowledge" the light of life and experience is shed upon "the best book," as Tolstoi says, "for the childhood of each man"—because it is "the book that tells of the childhood of the race."

### THE STORY OF THE SANNYASIN

"A certain king used to inquire of all the Sannyâsins that came to his country, 'Which is the greater man—he who gives up the world and becomes a Sannyâsin, or he who lives in the world and performs his duties as a householder?' Many wise men sought to solve the problem. Some asserted that the Sannyâsin was greater, upon which the king demanded that they prove their assertion. When they could not, he ordered them to marry and become householders. Then others came and said: 'The householder who performs his duties is the greater man.' Of them, too, the king demanded proofs. When they could not give them he made them also settle down as householders.

"At last there came a young Sannyâsin, and the king inquired of him. He answered, 'Each, O King! is equally great in his place.' 'Prove this to me,' replied the king. 'I will prove it to you,' said the Sannyâsin, 'but you must first come and live as I do for a few days, that I may be able to prove to you what I say.' The king consented, and followed the Sannyâsin out of his own territory and passed through many territories, until they came to another kingdom. In the capital of that kingdom a great ceremony was going on. The king and the Sannyâsin heard the noise of drums and music and criers; the people were assembled in the streets in gala array, and a great proclamation was being made. The king and the Sannyâsin stood there to see what was going on. The crier was saying that the princess, daughter of the king of that country, was about to choose a husband from among those assembled before her.

"It was an old custom in India for princesses to choose husbands in this way, and each had certain ideas of the sort of man she wanted for a husband; some would have the handsomest man; others would have the most learned; others would have the richest, and so on. The princess, in the most splendid array, was carried on a throne, and the announcement was made by criers that the Princess So-and-So was about to choose her husband. Then all the princes of the neighbourhood put on their bravest attire, and presented themselves before her. Sometimes they, too, had criers to enumerate their advantages and the reasons why they hoped the princess would choose them. The princess was carried around, and looked at them and heard what they had to offer, and if she was not pleased she said to her bearers, 'Move on,' and no more notice was taken of the rejected suitors. If, however, the princess was pleased with any one of them she threw a garland upon him, and he became her husband.

"The princess of the country to which the king and the Sannyâsin had come was having one of these ceremonies. She was the most beautiful princess in the world, and the husband of the princess would be ruler of the kingdom after her father's death. The idea of this princess was to marry the handsomest man, but she could not find the right one to please her. Several times these meetings had taken place, and yet the princess had not selected any one. This meeting was the most splendid of all; more people than ever had come to it, and it was a most gorgeous scene. The princess comes in on a throne and the bearers carry her from place to place. She does not care for any one, and everyone becomes disappointed that this meeting, also, is to be broken up without any one being chosen. Just then comes a young man, a Sannyâsin, handsome as if the sun had come down to the earth, and he stands in one corner of the assembly, watching what is going on. The throne with the princess comes near him, and as soon as she sees the beautiful Sannyâsin she stops and throws the garland over him. The young Sannyâsin seizes the garland and throws it off, exclaiming, 'I am a Sannyâsin. What is all this to me?' The king of that country thinks that perhaps this man is poor, so does not care to marry the princess, so he said to him, 'With my daughter goes half of my kingdom now, and the whole kingdom after my death!' and he puts the garland again on the Sannyâsin. The young man threw it off once more, saying, 'What nonsense is this? I do not want to marry,' and walked quickly away from the assembly.

"The first Sannyâsin and the king followed the second Sannyâsin into the forest, where night came upon them, and they lay down under a big tree to wait for the morning.

"Now a little bird and his wife and three little baby birds lived on that tree, in a nest. This little bird looked down and saw the three people under the tree and said to his wife, 'My dear, what shall be done? Here are some guests in the house, and it is winter, and we have no fire.' So he flew away and got a bit of burning fire-wood in his beak and dropped it before the guests, and they added fuel to it and made a blazing fire. But the little bird was not satisfied. He said again to his wife, 'My dear, what shall we do? There is nothing to give these people to eat, and they are hungry, and we are householders; it is our duty to feed anyone who comes to the house. I must do what I can. I will give them my body.' So he plunged down into the midst of the fire and perished. The guests saw him falling and tried to save him, but he was too quick for them, and dashed into the fire and was killed.

"The little bird's wife saw what her husband did, and she said, 'Here are three persons and only one little bird for them to eat. It is not enough; it is my duty as a wife not to let my husband's effort be in vain; let them have my body also,' and she plunged down into the fire and was burned to death.

"Then the three baby birds, when they saw what was done, and that there was still not food enough for the three guests, said, 'Our parents have done what they could and still it is not enough. It is our duty to carry on the work of our parents; let our bodies go too,' and they all dashed down into the fire also. The three people could not eat these birds, and they were amazed at what they saw.

"Then the Sannyâsin said to the king: 'King, you have seen that each is great in his own place. If you want to live in the world, live like those birds, ready at any moment to sacrifice yourself for others. If you want to renounce the world, be like that young man to whom the most beautiful woman and a kingdom were as nothing. If you want to be a householder, hold your life a sacrifice for the welfare of others, and if you choose the life of renunciation, do not even see beauty, and money, and power. Each is great in his own place, but the duty of the one is not the duty of the other.'"

* "The Tree of Knowledge." By Sybil Smith. (Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. Price 3s. 6d net.)

# YOUR SECRET DREAD

## An Open Letter to Mr. Average-man

My dear Sir,—I am sorry to see that you still shrink from the prospect of Women's Enfranchisement. You admit our claim to be a just and logical one; you have no sympathy whatever with the methods of Mr. McKenna, and I am quite sure if ever you saw a Liberal steward Liberal stewarding you would give him a black eye and d—— the consequences. And it is no use pretending that you have not a sneaking, schoolboyish sympathy for the militant party. . . . You are, upon the whole, a sane, sensible citizen, an excellent husband and father, and as intelligent as your public school education will allow you to be, and yet . . . you shrink from that prospect! Why do you shrink, my dear sir? I believe I know, and I am going to tell you, because I believe you hardly know yourself—the secret dread is there, but you are shy of putting it into words. If you did put it into words, you would say that women are naturally very good, very moral, much more moral than men, and that, if they had the power in their hands which the Vote would confer (really, you make claims for the Vote, dear sir, which we should never dare to do!) that they would at once endeavour to screw man's moral standard up to their own supernatural pitch; and then, so you think, there would be an explosion. . . . "Women can't understand!" you say, darkly. Bless your simple heart, my dear sir! Has it never occurred to you that possibly women *can* understand very well indeed? Male and female created He them; but that's all the difference. . . .

Besides, to hear you talk, one might suppose you to be the very devil of a fellow, instead of what you are, and always have been, an essentially decent, law-abiding, clean-minded Briton. I am quite sure you desire no relaxation of any social or moral law for your own sake; you would repudiate such an idea (and quite rightly) with the utmost horror and indignation; and certainly you do not desire it for the sake of those jolly cricket-playing boys of yours, or for the sake of Smith and Jones and Robinson, your friends and neighbours. You detest the male type known in your expressive vocabulary as a "waster" with a deep and hearty detestation; you really, don't want the Empire to be run solely with an eye to the convenience of the "waster," do you, my dear sir? For after all, and apart from every other consideration, the wasters are still in a minority, the average man is *you*.

Personally, I think the poor waster is likely to meet with much more sympathy and understanding at the hands of the women than at your hands. It is not usually the mother, is it, who is so severe upon a weak and wayward son? Kipling hit it pretty accurately in his poem of the Prodigal:—

"I'm going, pater; good-bye to you.
God bless you, mater, I'll write to you!
And—I won't be impolite to you—
But, brother, you *are* a hound!"

Moreover, every woman knows that the typical male waster, when he is not actually mentally diseased, is very apt to be the typical male hypochondriac—not at all an imposing person. The dull, self-centred man thinks about his feeble morals in the same solemn way that he thinks about his feeble digestion, and with equally disastrous results. And if, after generations have passed by with every law in the land positively inviting you to be immoral, and you can produce nothing more staggering than this sort of introspective childishness, then I am afraid all your boasted masculine wickedness, however terrible and far-reaching the ultimate consequences may be, is fostered and bolstered up by Swank, my dear sir; and you would be only too happy to drop the silly pretence and revert peacefully to your natural condition of Original Virtue. We are not going to flatter you by pretending that your weakness is your strength, or that you are so very much worse than we are.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

A Suffragette.

# NEW BOOKS

## THE POLICE PERIL*

Readers will remember the agitation over Miss Malecka's case about two years ago. She is the daughter of an English mother and a Russian Pole naturalised in England. Therefore, in English law, she ranks as a British subject, and on going to live for a time in Poland, was granted a British passport in the usual way. Nevertheless, after keeping herself for about a year in Warsaw as a teacher of music, she suddenly had her flat searched by the Russian secret police, she herself was arrested and hurried off to a prison in the citadel, and after the usual Russian delays and examinations (interrupted by an interval of freedom on a bail of £2,000 procured by the efforts of English sympathisers) she was at last tried and sentenced to four years' hard labour, to be followed by exile to Siberia for life. The accusation was one of conspiring with Polish revolutionists, for she had received and forwarded letters from a Polish Social Democrat.

Whether the charge was made out or not, such a sentence was overwhelming, apart from the question of British citizenship. The subject was frequently raised in our newspapers and in Parliament. Some who led the agitation have gallantly protested against the hideous treatment of women political offenders in our own gaols. But the majority, as usual, consisted of those ordinary Liberals whose "telescopic eyes," in the words of Ebenezer Elliot, are fixed on the smallest speck of distant pain, "while at their feet a world of agonies, unseen, unheard, unheeded, writhes in vain." The efforts of these lofty champions of freedom in far-off lands had such effect upon the Tsar (who was anxious not to weaken the advantage to himself of British finance and understanding) that he at once granted Miss Malecka's petition for a free pardon, and she returned home. It was a happy ending, but we must not forget the scores of thousands who are no more guilty than she, but never escape the clutch of the Tsar's police till they die in miserable and poverty-stricken exile among Siberian deserts.

### Russian Methods

For us the story told by Miss Malecka herself, with great spirit and clearness, has two main points of interest. First, it shows us the horrible dangers that overhang the men and women of any State in which the police are allowed once to get the upper hand. Russia may think herself governed by Tsar or officials or Duma; she is in reality governed by the police, and in consequence she suffers under the most fiendish tyranny now surviving in the world. From day to day no Russian is safe, and no one who is once suspected can hope for justice if his offence is "political." Similar danger threatens us now. From year to year the irresponsible power and insolence of our police are rapidly growing, and unless we have the resolution to check them, a police despotism will be established here, with a secret body of spies and bullies set to watch and harass all who have incurred the Government's displeasure. Of the many dangers before the country now, that is probably the most serious and far-reaching.

### A Russian Prison Compared

The other chief point of interest, especially to the women who have suffered for political offences in our prisons, is Miss Malecka's account of her treatment and her cells. During the many weeks of her imprisonment, until bail was granted, she was shut up in the "Tenth Pavilion" of the Citadel. There she was, at all events, no worse treated than English women are in Holloway, for her friends were allowed to send in food and clothes. The worst part was the loneliness:—

> The prisoners in the Citadel are kept in strict isolation, and the silence is complete. The only words they hear or speak are the few necessary remarks which must pass between them and the gendarmes. Twenty minutes' walk daily in the courtyard, sometimes taken in the afternoon, sometimes in the morning, is the only recreation allowed. In the courtyard two sentinels are always stationed on guard. You must not sit down or stand still or look at the windows. . . .
>
> In each of the hundreds of cells is a prisoner cut off by thick walls from his neighbours, whom he can never see. Yet this place of stone partitions and blank corridors, which sentries pace day and night, is as permeable by sympathy and faith as though spiritual forces could pass like X-rays through solid matter. . . . Can you imagine what it is to live in a great building with men and women who have a fellow-feeling for each other as strong and discerning as love, and think of each other and their common cause day and night?

To which question the answer of hundreds of English women now is: "Yes; thanks to a Liberal Government, we can imagine it. We have lived like that ourselves."

H. W. N.

* "Saved from Siberia." By Katie Malecka. (Everett & Co. 1s.

## A BOOK FOR FATHERS*

Dr. Sloan Chesser tells us in her book of a certain family, the two branches of which, being accurately followed up, revealed the following state of affairs: On the one side, nearly all were prominent members of society and owners of property or land; on the other side, nearly all were paupers, criminals, prostitutes, drunkards, and other forms of social pests. Now, the significant fact about this history is that the mother of the degenerate line had been deserted by the father, who "paid no further attention to the girl nor her child." It sets one wondering whether, if all the books and pamphlets that are written, and the sermons that are preached on the duties of motherhood, were to turn on the duties of fatherhood, it would not be going more to the root of the matter. Eliminate disease transmitted to mother and child by the father, the want brought about by waste of money on drinks that should go to feed mother and child, and the violence so often done to body and mind of expectant mothers by brutal husbands—and quite three-fours of the evils we have to deplore to-day would disappear. In saying this, we do not wish to convey the idea that Dr. Chesser lays the blame for all the horrible waste of infant life and suffering motherhood on woman-kind. On the contrary, she blames our social conditions, our careless fatherhood, and is just and accurate in her judgment; but we cannot help feeling this is more a book for men than for women, and perhaps the author has felt the same, for she dedicates it to "My Sons."

No aspect of life that concerns mother or infant has been ignored, and the striking feature of the book lies in the way in which Dr. Chesser has managed to show that there is no aspect of life that does not vitally concern motherhood; therefore, for this very reason, if for no other, there is no special sphere of life which should be closed to women. In the chapter on the unmarried mother, the author strongly indicts our social system, and the hypocritical way it deals with these unfortunate women. With deep feeling and restrained emotion she depicts for us the lot of the wretched girl on her trial for infanticide:—

> The crime is an indictment of our social system; our methods of trial and punishment are a horrible travesty of "justice." How many men have any conception of the mental condition of a girl who has passed through the greatest ordeal of womanhood, and has to face all the horror of unsanctioned motherhood, and the social ban which illegitimate birth entails? . . . Surely the father of the dead child has some responsibility, if he has knowingly left her to face the world unhelped, penniless, miserable, and alone? Then why does he not stand in the dock beside the mother of his child?

There is an interesting appendix at the end of the book, giving the laws of the various countries of Europe as they relate to parentage and inheritance of legitimate and illegitimate children. Norway, the one European kingdom where women have full voting rights, it is significant to notice, has a law which enacts that if the unmarried mother commits any act of violence against her child, the father can, under certain circumstances, be punished also. Dr. Chesser sees that true men have nothing to fear from woman's complete emancipation, only the effeminate or prejudiced and jealous male fears the safety of his pedestal; but there are many of these about, and herein lies one of the reasons for militancy, which, all things, to urge their men folk thoroughly to misunderstands:—

> The struggle in this case has been so prolonged that the wonder is that it is only a small minority of women . . . who have given way to bitterness and despair.

It is, of course, the militant women who, feeling their own strength, have despaired least of all, and, despairing least, have probably felt the least bitter. However, we agree with Lady Betty Balfour, in her sympathetic preface, that this is an "impressive book," and coming from one who has had the advantage of a medical training and consequent knowledge, it is all the more so. Readers of Votes for Women can be heartily recommended to read it, and, before all things, to urge their men folk thoroughly to digest it.

K. D. S.

* "Woman, Marriage, and Motherhood." By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, M.B. (London: Cassell and Co. Price 6s. net.)

### THE MELTING POT

Those of our readers who were inspired by "H. W. N.'s" account last week of the special performance of Mr. Zangwill's play, "The Melting Pot," with a wish to see it for themselves, will be glad to hear that arrangements have been made for its reproduction next Saturday evening for a run at the Queen's Theatre. The original cast will play it, with one exception, that of the hero, who will be represented by Mr. Walker Whitehouse, the American actor who played the part consecutively for three years in the States, and has a very special grasp of its subtleties and complexities.

### PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Fellows are coming in to help to sell papers at meetings, matinées, and pitches; but there is room for many more. There are whole districts in London which are practically virgin soil.

We have found another captain for the Oxford Circus and Oxford Street pitch in Mrs. Masters, one of our most energetic workers. Arrangements will be made to stock papers somewhere near, and she will be glad of more helpers, even for half an hour.

Those willing to join a poster-parade in the daytime are asked to send in their names to the Paper-Selling Organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Collected Poems of Margaret L. Woods." (London: John Lane. Price 5s. net.)

"Peach Bloom." By Northrop Morse. (New York: Sociological Fund Medical Review of Reviews. Price $1.00.)

"The Stage Year Book." 1914. (London: 16, York Street, Covent Garden. Price 1s. net.)

"How to Argue Successfully." By William Macpherson, M.A. (London: G. Routledge. Price 1s. net.)

"The State Registration of Trained Nurses. From the Point of View of the Public." By Alice M. Wacktill. (Leamington: 3, Archery Road. Price 2d.)

"The Protection of Criminals by the Government and the Law Courts." (London: Women's Freedom League. Price 1d.)

"Suffrage and Government." By Mary Austin and Anne Martin. (New York City: 505, Fifth Avenue. Price not stated.)


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*FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1914.*

# VOTES THIS SESSION

The Session of 1914, which opens on Tuesday next, is admitted on all sides to be one of critical import for the Government and the Liberal Party. Will it see the triumphant passage of Home Rule over the veto of the House of Lords by operation of the Parliament Act? If so, will there be riots in Ulster of a magnitude approaching to civil war? Or will there be a compromise with the Opposition and a settlement by consent? When will the dissolution take place—in May, as a recent rumour predicts, or at the normal end of the Session, or not till after another Session in 1915?

To us these questions, great and important as they undoubtedly are in themselves, are of interest mainly in so far as they affect the still deeper and greater issue of whether another Session is to go by without the enfranchisement of women.

Whether the men and women of Ireland, numbering some two or three millions, are to have what is known as self-government, meaning a government elected solely by the men of Ireland, or whether they are to be governed, as now, by a Parliament elected by the men of all parts of the United Kingdom, seems to us, as it will seem to the generations that come after us, to be a matter small in comparison with the question whether the women of these Islands, numbering fourteen millions, are to continue to be governed by a Parliament in which they have no share whatever.

Moreover, this very issue of Home Rule for Ireland, and of the form that that Home Rule is to take, is one upon which the opinion of the women of the country ought to be heard. What right, for instance, has the present House of Commons to pass a Bill by which the women of Ireland are precluded from any possibility of taking a share in the Government of their country for several years to come? Equally, by what right does the present House of Commons presume to legislate on the questions of the Welsh Church, of the Reform of the House of Lords, of Plural Voting, of Education, of Income Tax Adjustment, of Prison Reform, and of other matters, in all of which women are vitally concerned, until women, through their votes, have obtained the power to influence the decision of Members of Parliament?

Yet we find that the Liberal Party, that great historic Party whose watchwords are democracy and self-government, are not merely proposing to settle these questions without asking the advice of women, but that they even allege the urgency of doing so as one reason for refusing to grant self-government to women this Session. And we find that the Labour Party, which professes to consider woman suffrage a necessary and an urgent reform, propose to lend the whole weight of their forty votes in the House of Commons to support the Government in this course of action.

To palliate this denial of justice, they hold out the hope to us that if we will be patient and long-suffering, and will wait while all these other matters are being settled, then, after another general election has taken place, and the Liberal Government have been, as they prophesy, again returned to power, perhaps the Government will be graciously pleased to put woman suffrage on their programme, and to introduce a Bill to give effect to it some time during that Parliament.

We reject this precious offer, this excuse for gaining time, with all the contempt that it deserves. Instead, we shall carry out with renewed vigour and determination the only possible policy which is left to us, of offering the most strenuous opposition to the Liberal Party, and to their allies, the Labour Party. We shall take every means in our power of blocking all their measures of so-called reform. And we shall do this, not because we are reactionaries anxious to prevent genuine reform, but for the very reason that we are better and more determined reformers than they. Our principles teach us that all attempts at reform, while one half of the people is held in subjection, are futile and dangerous. Our knowledge of tactics teaches us that only by vigorous opposition are we likely to compel the so-called parties of progress to be progressive in anything but name.

And who knows whether the tide on which the Government have ridden so triumphantly up till now may not be nearly spent? Who knows whether, if they fail to carry woman suffrage this Session, they may not find that they have put it off too late? What if the Conservative Government be returned to power at the next general election, and proceed to gain the double advantage of winning the gratitude of women by being the authors of their enfranchisement, and also of securing such a form of woman suffrage as will be the most favourable to their Party?

Liberals may scoff at these ideas to-day just as they scoffed at the idea that it would be Disraeli who would carry the Household Franchise Act by which the working men were enfranchised in 1867; yet they suffer to-day from the traditional policy of large masses of working men who continue to vote for the Conservative Party which gave their fathers the vote.

The same fate may befall them again if they reject the opportunity of giving the vote to women. The time will come when, contrary to their expectations, they will find themselves in peril. They will look in vain for the support of their women—the women whom they have flouted and despised. Their opponents will come into power, and wiser and more generous than they, will perform the act of justice which they have denied.

# A SACRIFICE AND ITS RESULT

## How the Northern Men have "hitched on" to Woman Suffrage

**By Maud Arncliffe Sennett**

It is not necessary to refer to the New Organisation which has sprung directly from the sacrifice of a life, except to point the fact that a sacrifice, however misjudged and belittled by those who do not happen to make it, is never in itself wasted.

Drawn by the beautiful spirit that sacrificed her life for a cause, the writer followed the remains of Emily Davison to her resting place in Morpeth.

The expressions on the faces of the men in the Market Place, at the meeting held on the evening of the funeral, expressions inspired by the sacrifice of the dead woman, suggested the idea of bringing those men to London.

### The New Idea

"This woman has given us something to hitch on to," said the gardener at the grave next day; "and by God we mean to do it!" Something to hitch on to? Emily Davison then threw herself on to the waves of the Opposition in order to save others. How foolish it would be not to grasp at it; how foolish not to "hitch on" to the new idea born of the sacrifice and the vision it gave the gardener!

Ignorant as man has been where woman is concerned, and unconsciously cruel, it is the ignorance that he is trained in. Man is not woman's natural foe; it is unnatural that he should be. A few corrupt men in power have, for vicious purposes, set up the sex barrier; a few corrupt men in power are trying to maintain it; but already, in the light of a new understanding, that power is crumbling, and its doom is sealed.

Man himself is coming to the rescue, the North has "hitched on." It did not refuse a woman's outstretched hand, and within five weeks from the Morpeth meeting a deputation of important citizens had risen to the occasion, and was at the door of Downing Street, knocking for justice. From this derided deputation has sprung the Federation in the North. To win a cause it is necessary to see victory near, and yet to work as if it were miles off.

### Voters waiting to be organized

The experience of the last few months has proved that, unable to spare the time to organise himself, the voter is waiting to be organised upon this question. Cake and candy has had its uses in building up the organisations for women's suffrage and maintaining them; teas and tangos will keep the banners flying, but cannot win, because we cannot drink and dance our way to victory, and as votes are needed to gain votes, the sooner women focus on the voter, or make up their unanimous mind to canvas, canvas all the time, the sooner we'll arrive.

If I were asked for a message I should say: "That while women can perish for a cause, serious work is needed for it. Let us talk no more about our wrongs but go into the highways and the by-ways and bring men out to gain our rights, beat down the sex resentment at the wrongs inflicted on our sex, the timidity born of sex isolation, make friends with man, and make the fight together, for:—

"The Woman's Cause is man's: they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free."

Begin as was done in Edinburgh, in the homely parlour, with two solitary voters, and snowball up to numbers. Make platforms for them and secure the audiences, as party women do for party politicians. Enlist the help of a trusted woman friend, and start together and organise your town.

### Enthusiasm of the Men

The deputation of July and the Federation could not have been formed without the aid of two devoted Edinburgh women (the Miss Browns, one of whom is now the Hon. Sec. for Edinburgh), or without the generous co-operation of other leading suffragists and their organisations, to say nothing of the enthusiasm of the men.

But what has been started in the North can be pursued all over Britain. Let no woman take the unflattering unction to her soul that she's not capable enough to do it. People speak of "personality"; but the will, the will's the thing, the will to work, for nothing will win but work, and nothing can sustain like faith.

Why have these things happened? Who guided that great sacrifice at Epsom; whence its inspiration, what its purport?

There is a divinity doth shape our ends, rough hew them as we will. Who gave the Morpeth gardener that vision and humble power to pass it to another instrument, who in her turn has passed it on to others? Why have these things happened?

There is a reason, it is for us to find it out; and, tracing step by step the incidents as they have happened, it seems to me that God gave Emily Davison's life for the men of the country to "hitch on to," and it is for woman, who teaches man from infancy, to teach him how to do it.

# MR. LANSBURY BACK IN ENGLAND

## Will Speak at the Meeting in Kingsway Hall, February 26

Fellows and other readers of Votes for Women will be rejoiced to learn that Mr. George Lansbury, who returned last Monday from his tour in America, has consented to speak at the Public Meeting of the Fellowship, in the Kingsway Hall, on February 26. He will have much of interest to tell about the movement in the States, for he visited all the large towns there, including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, Cleveland, Cincinnati, besides Ottawa and Montreal in the Dominion. He spoke at all these places, as well as at Yale and Harvard.

### A CONVERSATION WITH MR. LANSBURY

Mr. George Lansbury has told us in the course of a conversation that he found Suffragists everywhere all through his tour, that he spoke on their platforms again and again, and met with an enthusiastic reception every time.

"Some of them were rather mixed about militancy," he added, "but I did my best to make the reasons for it clear to them, and nowhere did I meet with want of sympathy for the English militants. There was a good response every time; and if there were a few misconceptions at the start through want of understanding, I never found that these were not cleared up by the end of the meeting."

At Chicago, he found in the Women's Union about the most active organisation he came across in the States. Miss Jane Addams is connected with it; Mrs. Rhodus and Mrs. Hunt are prime movers in it, and Mr. Lansbury was interested to find women of all classes helping in the work of the office, while the main objects of the Union are to press for the full suffrage for women in Illinois, and to draw up a programme of social reform to get passed into law as soon as they obtain this further extension of their political powers.

### Sympathy for English Militancy

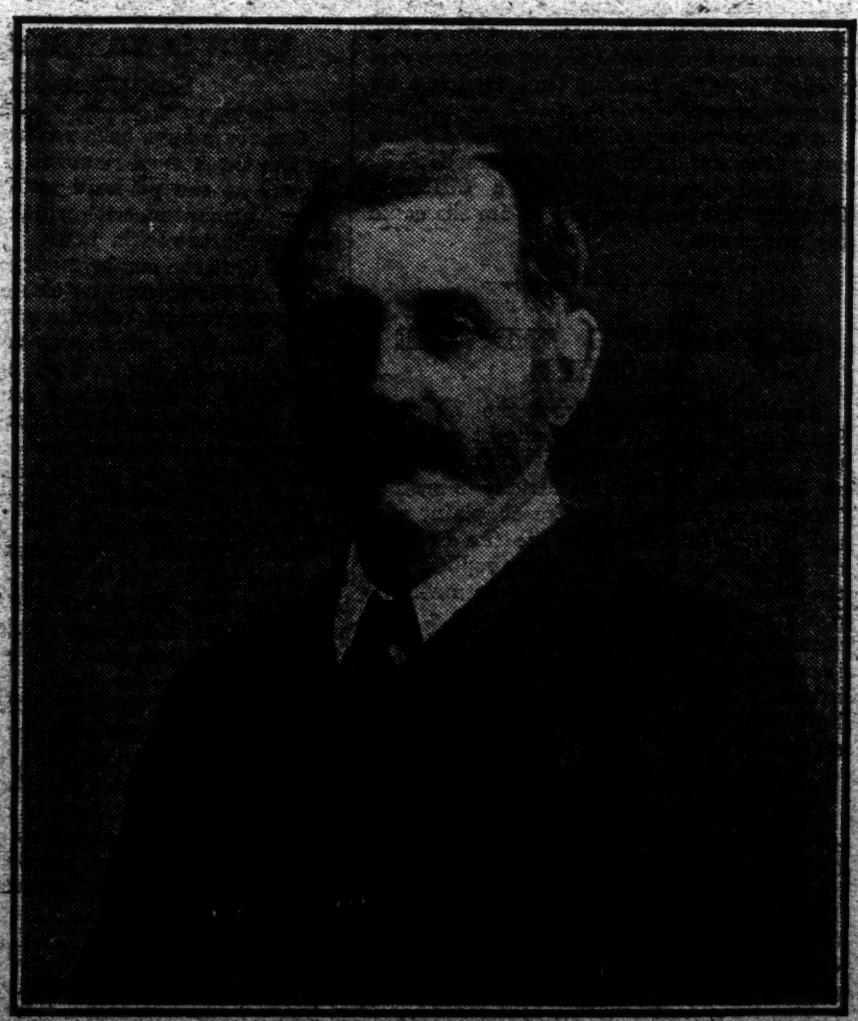
At New York, Mr. Lansbury was asked to speak at the City Club on the industrial and social movement in England, and he devoted half his speech to an explanation of militant tactics, which created a great sensation in an audience that appeared to have been previously misinformed as to the true facts, but showed in the discussion that followed how sympathetic they were, and how ready to understand the truth.

The same thing happened everywhere—at Ottawa, Cincinnati, and elsewhere. People might not understand at first, but they were invariably sympathetic and open to conviction.

"At Washington," said Mr. Lansbury, "I struck the most militant audience of all. They understood everything, and gave me a great time." It was here that he helped Mrs. White, of the Women's National Union, to organise a shop assistants' meeting to demand an Eight Hours' Bill.

### Mr. Lansbury's Suffrage Record

It is little more than a year since Mr. Lansbury sought re-election in Bow, because he felt impelled to place Woman Suffrage before all other political questions, and was too honest to continue to sit in Parliament as a member of a Party that declined to take this strong stand with regard to women's demand for justice. Earlier in his Parliamentary career he had stood out alone on the floor of the House of Commons, a second Plimsoll, denouncing Mr. Asquith to his face for allowing the torture of women to continue in our prisons. A few more George Lansburys would make the present attitude of the Government towards the women's fight for freedom an impossibility. All suffragists will look forward with great interest to Mr. Lansbury's reappearance on the Suffrage platform on February 26.



[Russell.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY

### Particulars of the Meeting

Besides Mr. George Lansbury, the following speakers will also address the great public meeting at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday evening, February 26, organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship: Sir Harry Johnston, the famous South African explorer, Miss Lena Ashwell, well known to our readers both for her success on the stage and her work for the woman's movement, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

### How to Get Tickets

Early application for tickets should be made to the Ticket Secretary, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Prices: Front Central stalls and balcony, all numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d.; other numbered and reserved stalls or balcony, 1s.; unreserved seats in stalls or balcony, 6d. Handbills in the colours advertising the meeting are now ready, and can be had on application to the Ticket Secretary. Posters will be ready to-night.

### Fellows' Meeting

A special meeting is being held this evening (Friday), at 8.30, in the small Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, to which Fellows and others are invited. It is hoped that as many as possible will attend to confer with Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as to plans for bringing to public notice the Kingsway Hall meeting on February 26.

# FORCIBLE FEEDING OF SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

## Bishop of London Visits Holloway Gaol—Archbishop Receives a Deputation

Acting upon his promise made to a deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union, of which we gave an account last week, the Bishop of London obtained a permit from the Home Secretary and visited Holloway Gaol on Wednesday in last week. The Bishop of Kensington did not accompany him because the permit was for one person only.

In a letter to Mrs. Diplock, the leader of the deputation, Dr. Ingram gave an account of his visit, which has since appeared in the Press. He was received by the Governor of Holloway Gaol, who took him across to the "Remand" Hospital, where Miss Peace was confined. It will be remembered that it was in the "Convicted" Hospital, another part of the prison, that Miss Ansell was imprisoned when she heard the shrieks of the prisoner whom she took to be Miss Peace.

### THE BISHOP'S ACCOUNT

The Bishop found Miss Peace lying fully dressed on her bed. His letter goes on to say:—

"I asked if she minded my having a little talk with her. When she assented I asked her how she was, and she complained of indigestion and also some discomfort in her lower limbs which made her disinclined to avail herself of the leave for exercise which was of course given her. I asked her whether she had ever shrieked, as described by Miss Ansell. She said that she may have uttered one exclamation once, but that she had never shrieked. Had she ever been put in a padded cell?—Certainly not.

"Did she complain of her treatment in any way?—Yes, her complaint was this—that, though she had served quietly two sentences, one of six months and one of three months, and again had behaved well during this term of imprisonment, she was not released as others were under the new Act, and that this is why she now felt aggrieved.

#### An Undertaking Refused

"I then told her that if she would give any undertaking by word or writing which she would herself consider binding that she would not commit any act of militancy such as burning of houses, for which she was imprisoned, I had the Home Secretary's assurance that she would be released at once. This undertaking she said she was unable conscientiously to give, but she said that she would promise to observe the conditions of any licence under which she might be released. This I promised to report to the Home Secretary, and after spending about a quarter of an hour with her she thanked me for coming, and I left the cell."

Dr. Ingram then went to the Home Office, gave an account of his visit, and asked that Miss Peace might be released under the Cat and Mouse Act. This was refused. The letter concludes as follows:—

"I have no hesitation in saying that if Miss Ansell heard shrieks they could not have been uttered by Miss Peace, and though every one must deplore the necessity of imprisoning any such poor woman, or of forcibly feeding anyone at all, still more a woman, the fears which you expressed to me with regard to her condition are not borne out by the facts of the case."

### REPLY OF THE W.S.P.U.

The Women's Social and Political Union replied to the Bishop in a letter which appeared in the Press last Monday. In this they point out that Dr. Ingram did not witness the process of forcible feeding, as the deputation had strongly urged him to do, and that he had not asked to see Miss Marion and Miss Brady, who were also being forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol, and of whose cases information had been sent to the Bishop of Kensington when it was believed that he was to accompany Dr. Ingram to the prison.

"If you will read Miss Ansell's statement again," proceeds the letter, "you will see that she assumed that the occupant of that cell was Miss Peace, believing that she was the only Suffragist who was under torture at the time. In these circumstances it was clearly the duty of anyone investigating so serious a matter, to find out who was the occupant of the cell, and the reason for such terrible cries as are said to have issued from it."

### A SECOND DEPUTATION

A second deputation from the W.S.P.U. interviewed the Bishop of London last Monday evening, at his residence in St. James's Square. They invited him to attend next Monday's meeting of the Union at the Knightsbridge Hall, and remained in conversation with him for about half an hour.

### WERE THE CRIES FROM MISS MARION?

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in a letter to the Press, suggests that the cries heard by Miss Ansell were uttered by Miss Kitty Marion and not by Miss Rachel Peace at all. She states that during her latest imprisonment at Holloway she too heard cries on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of January, which she is convinced were the cries of a prisoner being forcibly fed.

#### A Suggestion

"Miss Peace," adds Miss Pankhurst, "is one of those prisoners to whom the mental and nervous danger of forcible feeding far outweighs the physical. She does not appear to have dwelt on this side of the matter in talking to the Bishop, but she has written to her friends of the fearful dreams and hallucinations from which she has suffered. She has said in plain words that she is afraid of losing her reason. So much have these things terrified her that for some weeks she was broken down in her determination to persist in the hunger strike, and that is the reason why she did not appear more emaciated to the Bishop, as having only recently renewed her protest, she has not on this occasion been forcibly fed for a long space."

### BISHOP OF LONDON ADDRESSED IN CHURCH

At the consecration of the new church of St. Michael's, Golder's Green, last Sunday, Suffragists were present who, at the conclusion of the opening hymn, continued singing the tune to the following words:—

"God, spare the women who are suffering
in prison for conscience' sake,
"And make our bishops and clergy to see
the justice of their cause.
"For Christ's sake, Amen."

Sidesmen conducted three of the women to the door, and the others remained quiet until after the consecration, when one of them addressed the Bishop, saying: "I protest, my Lord Bishop, against your version of forcible feeding that is going on in our prisons."

Another woman added: "Why did you not watch the operation for yourself?"

A third began: "This is a Christian Church," but was removed before she could say any more.

### SUFFRAGISTS AND THE PRIMATE

Another deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union sought an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace last Friday morning. They were received by the chaplain, who said it was impossible to see the Primate except by appointment. They replied that they would wait at the Palace until he could see them, or would appoint a time when he could do so. As a result of their insistence they were then told that an interview would be granted to one member of the deputation in a little more than an hour's time.

#### THE INTERVIEW

Mrs. Dacre Fox, who finally saw the Archbishop in the presence of his chaplain, gave an account of the interview afterwards to the Press, in which she said she told him she had not come to discuss the debatable questions of Women's Suffrage or militant methods, but to appeal to him as head of the Established Church in this country to say whether the torture of prisoners could under any conditions be justified, and to urge him to investigate for himself the cases which she brought to his notice, especially referring to the case of Rachel Peace.

#### The Subject Discussed Every Day

The Archbishop in his reply, as reported by Mrs. Fox, said he did not need to be told how strongly people were feeling, as he heard the subject of forcible feeding discussed every day and from every point of view. He said also that he desired no proof of the seriousness or sincerity of the deputation, and he showed some inclination to discuss militant methods, which Mrs. Fox declined to do.

The Primate would not give any direct answer to the request that he should investigate the whole matter. He would consider both sides of the question, and while he could not allow himself to be pressed, he was prepared to give the matter his earnest consideration.

### A CHURCHMAN'S PROTEST AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

#### Curate Dismissed for His Sermon

A protest against forcible feeding, uttered in the pulpit, has been followed by the dismissal of a Curate, the Rev. C. S. Wills, by his Vicar, whose action has been endorsed by the Bishop of his diocese. The sermon in question was preached on Sunday evening, January 25, from the text: "Thou shalt do no murder." The preacher has, at our request, sent us his account of what he said.

#### Is it Just and Christian?

My statement (he writes) was this: "I am not now pleading for Woman Suffrage, or against; or for militancy, or against. To do so would be making the pulpit into a Coward's Castle, and that is a very sorry thing to do. The question is simply this, and it is one we must all, as professing Christians, face and answer for at the bar of God: 'Is forcible feeding just and Christian?' If it be, we must support it; if not, we must do all we can to abolish it."

"In my sermon," he continues, "I read out some statements from leading medical men against forcible feeding, also what the Bishop of Kensington said in the *Times*, answering the Deans of St. Paul's and Durham. I said we must not torture *anything*, much less our sisters; that to give the prisoner food, and if the food was refused to let the prisoner die in prison, was legal, and that the women were willing to die. But to torture the prisoner by forcible feeding was not legal, or moral, or Christian. They were in for conscience' sake, and any Government that were guilty of such torture were 'inhuman monsters.' I said I did not care if it was the last sermon I ever preached; I felt I cannot have this thing on my conscience any longer without bringing it before them; that I had seen and heard certain women in Kingsway Hall give sworn evidence of their own forcible feeding; that I had seen and heard leading medical men—Sir Victor Horsley and Dr. Mansell-Moullin—condemn forcible feeding at the Queen's Hall, and the Bishop of Kensington in the same place; that about 600 clergy had their names on a leaflet protesting against it; and that the women prisoners were not common criminals."

#### "England Requires an Earthquake"

The preacher, having pointed out the difference between incendiarism from a criminal motive and the same offence from a political motive, then proceeded to represent to his congregation that "the law of the land does not permit even a murderer, who I said I thought was the greatest of criminals, to be tortured, and I asked why, then, one who burns a house should be tortured? I said that to shorten a person's life, even though slowly, is murder none the less, and I was ashamed of the medical profession. No country treated its women more cruelly than England, and I asked how many in that church would stand on a public platform and defend forcible feeding, adding that I thought they would be stoned if they did, and that England required a good dose of conversion (it was St. Paul's day), for it was deaf, dumb, and blind to reason and justice, and I thought it would require an earthquake to make it wake up."

In spite, however, of the preacher's opening statement, the churchwarden complained strongly to him afterwards of having used the pulpit for party political purposes, and the next morning he received his "marching orders" from his Vicar, who brought the charge against him of preaching on the Suffrage question. A letter from the Bishop, supporting the Vicar in his action, was afterwards received by our correspondent, who concludes his communication to us by repeating the assertion that he made no statement in his sermon either for or against Woman Suffrage.

Even had he done so, would it have been inconsistent with Christian teaching? More than one Churchman has already preached in favour of Woman Suffrage, not excluding the Bishop of Kensington in Kensington Parish Church itself.

# PIT BROW GIRLS DRIVEN OUT

## What is an "Amicable Settlement?"—Miners' Officials Support Men Against Girls' Claim to Work

Our fears have been realised with regard to the threatened removal of the girls employed at the pit-head at New Sharlston, near Normanton, with which we dealt fully in our last week's issue. It will be recalled that the employment of some twenty girls on the screens at this colliery, about a fortnight ago, raised a storm of protest from the men, which was voiced in representations to the colliery company made by Mr. J. Wadsworth, a Labour member, and other officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association. It was announced in last Friday's *Manchester Guardian* that as a result of the communications between the colliery manager and the men's officials "an amicable settlement had been arrived at."

What was this "amicable" settlement? That on the afternoon of January 29 the girls ceased their work for good, and that in future boys or youths would be employed there instead. The report concludes with the following paragraph:—

"In a conversation, Mr. Cresswick said that the whole thing had been a storm in a teacup, and that he had all along let it be known that if objection were made by the miners to the innovation the girls would at once be withdrawn."

### A SUFFRAGIST PROTEST

This news was an ugly, as well as an ironic, comment on the pious resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage passed by the Labour Conference at Glasgow on the very day following that on which this injustice was perpetrated. Miss Eva Gore-Booth, of the National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, at once wrote as follows to the *Manchester Guardian*:—

"May I protest against the so-called 'amicable settlement' by which thirty poor women have lost their work at the New Sharlston Colliery for no fault of their own, except, of course, the initial one of having been born women? The strong point of the miners' association has been successful. To the manager the whole matter appears a 'storm in a teacup'; the pit-brow women have been deprived of their work, and everything is smooth again. The men did not even want the work, the management dwelt on the difficulty of getting boys to do it. There seems to have been no reason behind the violent action of the miners' officials, besides the wanton bitterness of sex prejudice.

#### "A Double Political Life"

"It seems almost like living a double political life, with a foot in both camps, that these men should go straight from this cruel attack on the liberty of women to earn their living, to speak in London, not at an anti-Suffrage meeting, but at an Albert Hall meeting organised to support the women's new claim to live their life in their own way—political, industrial, and social. For surely this is the real meaning of the women's suffrage movement. And in the light of this larger interpretation, the President of the Miners' Federation can surely be only regarded by women's suffragists as an opponent."

# WHAT THINKERS ARE THINKING

## Notable Expressions of Opinion on the Situation by Well-known Men and Women

This week, the last before the re-assembling of Parliament, is being marked in the *Daily Herald* by special contributions daily from well-known people who believe firmly in justice for women, and insist that the Government shall take up the question and settle it. On Monday last this interesting series of Suffrage pages was inaugurated by an introductory article written by the Special Commissioner to the *Daily Herald*, in which he traces the history of the movement during the past year and its position at the present moment. On Tuesday the opinions of men Suffragists were given, representative of all classes and all phases of thought and action. From these we quote some of the more salient passages below.

### The Bishop of Kensington

The great number of those who range themselves against the movement have not considered that the power behind it is intensely moral and spiritual. . . . As both political parties place social reform in the forefront of their programme, and certainly profess the greatest solicitude to deal with what is long overdue, it is surprising that they should venture to attempt the solution of such momentous problems without that co-operation, insight, and knowledge which women possess in all these matters which so intimately concern them.

### Canon Scott Holland

The women's case has surely by this time been proved: its urgency, its pressure, and its persistence have all been adequately verified. There is no principle on which a modern state rests which can now justify the refusal of their claim.

### Mr. Israel Zangwill

It is useless to say what should be done by the Government, as they will not do it. They are too busy, too divided, and too illiberal. The only way of forwarding the cause is for both Liberals and Conservatives to force their respective parties to put Woman's Suffrage on their programme at the next election.

### Earl Lytton

As regards the action of the Government there is, in my opinion, no action which they could take to satisfy the advocates of Woman Suffrage other than to announce their intention at some time or another of introducing a Bill to enfranchise women.

### Viscount Dillon

As an Irish peer I have no seat in the House of Lords, but as to what the Government should do on the reassembling of Parliament, I should like them to give the vote to women on similar terms as to men, and to make it a Government measure and so help it to pass, and dispose once and for all of the question.

### Professor H. H. Turner, F.R.S.

I cannot think that an undoubted grievance of this magnitude, the consciousness of which is steadily growing and is embittering the relations of men and women, can be studiously neglected by the Government with any but disastrous results.

### Mr. Harold Laski

Oxford men are becoming more and more impressed with the inadequacy and inefficiency of any social system in which women do not take a vital part. . . . They are, above all, impressed with the need for whole-hearted rebellion against any administration which, having made barbarism its watchword, has ruthlessly oppressed wherever it has failed to understand.

### Sir Edward Busk

Immediately on the re-assembling of Parliament, the Government should introduce a Bill to confer the Parliamentary franchise on women, whether married or single, on the same terms as men. All Suffragists ought to give the enfranchisement of women priority over all other political questions, and to do their best at all elections to prevent any Anti-Suffragist Government from remaining in or coming into power.

If the present Government does not introduce and press forward a Woman's Suffrage Bill, its candidates should be opposed, unless they state in their election addresses that they will do all in their power to secure the speedy passing of such a Bill, and will vote independently of their party until a Woman's Suffrage Bill has become law. Voters should let their local associations and the candidates know that their votes and support will only be given on these conditions.

### Mr. Henry W. Nevinson

In the face of present discontents, Burke said "our measures must be remedial." That saying has become a watchword of true Liberalism, and the only remedial measure possible for any Government now is to introduce a Bill giving the franchise to women on the same terms as men. . . . But as the present Ministers have long ceased to be truly Liberal, and care nothing for common honesty, let alone honour, I have no hope that they will take this course. . . . I can only fall back on the advice of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (the last of Liberal statesmen) when he recommended Suffragists to "keep on pestering." So long as our servants in the Cabinet remain illiberal and unreasoning, that, I regret to say, is the only course to pursue. There are various ways of pursuing it, equally unwelcome to politicians who chatter about Democracy and exclude half the grown population from the number of the citizens.

### Mr. Robert Williams

For ourselves, we must associate ourselves with the women's movement, and also induce the women to work alongside us in the Labour and Socialist movement, for, as the poet has told us, "Men are Women's Children, and we Mother them again."

### "MINISTERIAL HIGHWAYMAN"

Under this title, Mr. Laurence Housman contributed to the *Daily Herald* Suffrage page, last Wednesday, an extremely witty and at the same time trenchant article on the way the "Suffragist Strikers" are "altering the face of society." The House of Commons, he says, "as an institution for registering the people's will, is very largely a sham; and it is militancy more than anything else that has exposed it."

### The Real Attacking the Sham

"The political situation that faces us today," continues Mr. Housman, "is that something real is attacking something sham; and the sham is getting the worst of it. That is shown quite sufficiently by the fact that the sham is very busy making sham excuses for itself, and sham explanations of its failure. Lloyd George says that it is militancy which has made the Parliamentary situation impossible—ignoring the fact that the situation became impossible (largely with his aid and connivance) at a time when all militancy had ceased. McKenna says that the 'Cat and Mouse Act' is a success, because under it there are fewer Suffrage prisoners serving sentences. There are fewer Suffrage prisoners merely because—as a very practical answer to the Government's policy of coercion—the militants changed their tactics from standing to be arrested to avoiding arrest. When they stood to be arrested they had done damage to the extent of a few thousand pounds; since they have avoided arrest they have done damage to the extent of hundreds of thousands of pounds. That is all that McKenna has really got out of his 'Cat and Mouse' Act: in trying to save his face he has certainly not saved the pockets of the insurance companies; while he has succeeded in keeping and torturing one or two women to the end of their sentences, scores of them have escaped him; and while the escaped mice are supposed to be rendered innocuous by the fact that they are hiding from the police—that is another of the sham statements which the public is asked to swallow—incendiarism in all parts of the country goes merrily on. If Mr. McKenna really prefers to have more fires and fewer prisoners, no doubt the rebel women will continue to oblige."

### Society Deserves All It Gets

"But," proceeds Mr. Housman, "the real point of the Government's breakdown and failure is a moral one. It has shown that it cannot even pretend to control its women political prisoners without descending to methods of barbarism. It can only make a show of holding out against them by the introduction of torture. And if society tolerates that expedient, then society deserves all that it gets from the militants. 'Herald' readers will not be led away by the specious argument that the pains of these prisoners are self-inflicted. The pains of the working man—the starvation of his wife and children—are equally self-inflicted when he goes on strike against the industrial conditions which the masters impose upon him. To people of heart and understanding, the very fact that he will endure such suffering, and see its consequences extend beyond himself and his family—is a proof that his grievance is great, and the conditions laid upon him not humanely to be borne."


# VOTES FOR WOMEN FELLOWSHIP

**A Public Meeting will be held in**

**THE KINGSWAY HALL**

**Thursday, February 26th, at 8 p.m.**

**Chair: MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE**

**Speakers:**

**SIR HARRY JOHNSTON**

(The famous African Explorer and Administrator)

**Miss LENA ASHWELL**

**Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY**

**Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and others.**

**TICKETS: Front Central Stalls and Balcony (numbered and reserved) 2s. 6d.; other Stalls and Balcony (numbered and reserved) 1s.; Unreserved Stalls or Balcony 6d., from the Ticket Secretary, "Votes for Women," 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.**

# ECHOES FROM ABROAD

## Australian Women Won't Have "Anti" Governor—American Militants—A Toronto Asquith—Is America Woman-Ridden?

### AUSTRALIAN WOMEN VOTERS DON'T WANT MR. HOBHOUSE

We are not surprised to learn that the enfranchised women of Australia refuse to countenance the idea, which has been suggested recently, that Mr. Hobhouse, M.P., should succeed Lord Denman as Governor-General of Australia. Miss Sheepshanks, of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in London, has received the following cablegram from Miss Vida Goldstein:—

"The Women's Political Association of Australia protests against the suggestion that Mr. Hobhouse should be Governor-General. We consider it an affront to the women of Australia."

#### No Cabinet Minister Acceptable

We understand that the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association in London are sending a protest to Mr. Asquith on the subject. In sending them a request to do so on behalf of the Women's Political Association, Miss Goldstein adds: "No Cabinet Minister acceptable."

Of course not, when every member of the present Cabinet condones the shameful treatment of English Suffragists by the Government. What an anomalous situation is that of an Anti-Suffragist Prime Minister in the home country when he is forced to respect the views of the women electors in the Empire overseas!

### MILITANT AMERICAN SUFFRAGISTS

According to a Central News message, a deputation of about 300 Suffragists interviewed President Wilson at Washington last Monday, with the object of inducing him to change his determination to take no sides on the Suffrage question because it had not been included in his programme when he stood for election. It will be remembered that this was his answer to the last deputation, headed by Dr. Anna Shaw, that waited upon him a few weeks ago with the request that he should mention Woman Suffrage in his message to Congress.

On Monday President Wilson is reported to have told the deputation that his views had undergone no change, and he was unable to help the cause in the way they suggested. The report adds that this reply entirely failed to satisfy the delegates, many of whom evidenced their indignation by refusing to shake hands with the President when they left.

#### How English Militancy Began

They had much reason to be indignant, and the President's reactionary attitude, if correctly reported, should make those of our American sisters who do not already realise this, understand how a similar attitude in our own Prime Minister, coupled with discourtesy on his part and provocative action on the part of the police, have driven Englishwpmen, step by step, to extremes of militancy.

Let those American delegates picture the White House surrounded with 6,000 police to prevent their entry, while an inspector conveyed to them a curt refusal to see them or to listen to their grievance—and let them picture those same women being buffeted and assaulted by the police for several hours before they obtained the mercy of arrest, and they will gain some idea of what has been described in the Party organs as the hooliganism—not of the Government and its paid officials—but of the women themselves!

### SHRINKING FROM THE POLLS!

#### Competing with Mr. Asquith

The Toronto correspondent of the *Times* sends to that paper an account of a speech on Woman Suffrage, made to a deputation of women by Sir Rodmond Roblin, Premier of Manitoba, which places that Minister almost on a level with a British Prime Minister. Woman's place, he said, was in the home, and to project her into the sphere of party politics would be a positive danger to society. He added the amazing assertion that in the United States women who had the vote shrank from the polls as from a pestilence!

#### A Healthy Pestilence

We hope the pestilence from which the woman voters of the United States are said to be suffering is catching; for from statistics to hand it seems to be a remarkably healthy one. We need only refer the Premier of Manitoba to the special article on Woman Suffrage in the Pacific Coast supplement of the *Times* (December 31, 1913), in which the writer says:—

"It has always been a favourite assertion of the anti-suffragists that women would not vote even if they had the opportunity, and *though this has been disproved in every State in the United States where women have the right to vote*, the figures in California are interesting. There are in California about 600,000 women over the age of 21 who are entitled to register. The registration of 37 out of the 58 counties in the State has been computed from the figures furnished by the county clerks and registrars, and it is found that 70.4 per cent. of the women have registered within little more than a year, as against 82.2 per cent. of the men. . . . Five out of 34 counties show a larger percentage of women than of men registered."

The article goes on to say that while no separate records have been kept of the numbers of men and women who vote, it is possible to form an estimate of their proportions, and it can be judged from available evidence that about 251,847 women voted at the election of 1912, and Secretary of State Frank C. Jordan puts the number at 313,883—an average of 61.3 per cent. of the registered women voting. For the whole State of California, adds the writer, the average of men voting was 56.4 per cent.

By all means let us have more pestilences of the kind mentioned by the reactionary Premier of Manitoba!

### THE "GLOBE" IN A PANIC

American women, through co-education, discover their superiority to men early in life. Hence the fact that America is woman-ridden, and the American man a mere cypher in his own home. Therefore a great danger lurks in the thought of co-education in this country, lest Englishwomen, too, should make the fateful discovery that they also are not inferior to men, and England should become as woman-ridden as the States! Q.E.D.

Thus the *Globe*—or words to that effect—in its leading article last Monday. American men, it says, are not really more chivalrous to their womenfolk than Englishmen to theirs. They are merely bowed down by a sense of that inferiority which they were made to feel at school, because, adds our contemporary, "the male intellect takes longer to mature than the female," and "when the two are educated together the girls are more successful." Then why do not American men turn and crush their precocious sisters as soon as their more ponderous intellects have fully developed and made them, what they really were all the time (according to the *Globe*), the superiors of the female of the species?

And does the *Globe* seriously maintain that the Englishman, or any other man, shows his superiority to women by being rude to them? If so, we should not mind seeing him, for a change, "a cypher in his own home."

But what really interests us is the panic of the *Globe* lest little English girls should find out that they can beat little English boys at lessons. No doubt it *would* be tiresome to have to keep explaining all the time that the little boys were going to beat the little girls at everything else as soon as they grew up. There is always the chance that the little girls would not believe this—even when they grew up!

### FUTURE WOMEN SOLICITORS

#### Bill to be Introduced

A renewed effort to obtain the admission of women as solicitors is to be made by means of a Bill which will be introduced into the House of Commons during the coming session. Last December, it will be remembered, Miss Bebb was worsted in the Law Courts, although it was proved that women were entitled to hold very much more important posts than that of a solicitor—Hereditary Lord High Constable and Great Chamberlain, for instance. The new Bill, which will be a short fifteen line one, will have as its main clause: "A woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being admitted as a solicitor, or for acting or practising as a solicitor under the Solicitors' Act, 1843, and the Acts amending the same, and the other enactments for the time being in force relating to solicitors."

It will be supported by Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., and Mr. George Radford, M.P., the two latter being both solicitors and magistrates

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Fine white Voile Blouses, dainty embroidered fronts, long sleeves, hem-stitched collar. **5/6**

Silk Brocha Crepon Blouses with small straight yoke at back, roll collar and cuffs, large pearl ball buttons. In ivory only. **11/9**

Fine white Muslin Blouses, dainty embroidered fronts, low collar, full length sleeves, fastening at back. **1/9**

**We pay Carriage on everything to anywhere in the United Kingdom.**

# COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

## LIGHT SENTENCES

### Assaulting a Wife

The *Stirling Sentinel* (January 6) reports case of a miner, charged at the Burgh Police Court, with assaulting his wife by kicking her. He brought an accusation against her which she denied, and he then assaulted her.

Sentence: *Fined 10s., or in default ten days' imprisonment.*

### Driving to the Public Danger

The *Times* (January 27) reports case of a man "of independent means," charged at Marylebone Police Court before Mr. Paul Taylor with being drunk while in charge of a motor-car, which he drove into the obelisk at the corner of Porchester Road at 1.30 in the morning. He had a bad record.

Sentence: *Twenty-one days' imprisonment.*

### Spreading Disease

The *Times* (January 24) reports case of an employer and a doctor summoned, at the West London Police Court before Mr. Fordham, the one for sending a nurse, who had contracted scarlet fever in his house, to her home in a taxi-cab; the other for failing to notify the case. Mr. Fordham accepted the doctor's reasons for his omission, but said it would be difficult to imagine conduct more wicked of its kind than that of the other defendant, who, apart from the cruelty of sending away the girl in such a vehicle, had endangered the health and possibly the lives of hundreds of persons.

Sentences: *To the doctor a fine of 20s., with 23s. costs. To the employer a fine of £5, with three guineas costs.*

## HEAVY SENTENCES

### Night Poaching

The *Yarmouth Weekly Press* (January 31) reports case of three men charged at the County Assizes with night-poaching armed with a gun. There were previous convictions against two of the men.

Sentences: *Twelve months, four months, and one month respectively, with hard labour.*

### Housebreaking

The *Westminster Gazette* (January 6) reports case of a man charged at the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions with housebreaking in a rectory, where he was found under a bed. There were warrants out against him in three places.

Sentence: *Five years' penal servitude.*

### Burglary

The *Times* (January 12) reports case of a labourer, charged at the Middlesex Quarter Sessions before Mr. Montagu Sharpe, with housebreaking and stealing £30 worth of jewellery. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: *Four years' penal servitude.*

The *Times* (January 9) reports case of a labourer charged with breaking into an Alderman's house at Camberwell and stealing a cigarette case and a revolver. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: *Eighteen months' hard labour.*

# WOMEN ON CHURCH COUNCILS

The question of the election of women to Church Councils has again come forward, this time in the two dioceses of Worcester and London.

The Bishop of Worcester has ruled that in his diocese there is nothing in the constitution of his Diocesan Conference to exclude them. He has suggested that as a preliminary step women should be elected to the ruridecanal conferences, and he has promised to deal with the whole question of women's place on Church Councils at the Diocesan Conference next July. Meanwhile, the Bishop's daughter, Miss Yeatman-Biggs, is the first woman elected, and she sits for Hartlebury, in the Rural Deanery of Kidderminster.

### The Hammersmith Resolution

In the London diocese it appears that women are not eligible for membership of any of the representative Church bodies; and a resolution has been passed by the Hammersmith Ruridecanal Conference, calling for the removal of the sex bar. The same resolution is to come before each of the ruridecanal conferences at their next meeting, but as these have all just been re-elected for three years, only action by the Bishop of London can prevent the exclusion for women for at least that length of time further. The Bishop of Kensington is known to be in thorough sympathy with the Hammersmith resolution.

## FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FORWARD MOVEMENT

The F.C.L.W.S. is making a forward movement, which includes the opening of an office at 13, Breams Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C. A meeting is to be held on April 30, at Caxton Hall, with the Rev. R. J. Campbell among the speakers, when it is hoped to make an appeal for increased support that will be heartily responded to.

The new office is on the ground floor, and has a fine window for the display of the *Free Church Suffrage Times* and other literature.

### Work of the League

The work of the League lies mainly among the Free Churches. Its aims at the moment are to secure petitions signed by Nonconformist ministers, urging upon the Government the granting of electoral rights to women; also the securing, when possible, of the discussion of the woman's question at the various annual assemblies of each of the Nonconformist bodies. This will be done, for instance, by the Free Church Council in its Assembly at Norwich next March.

## REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

As we went to press on Wednesday, the news of three fires in West Perthshire, attributed to Suffragists, appeared in the evening papers. Two of these, the House of Ross, near Comrie, and another at St. Fillans, were practically destroyed, while very extensive damage was done to the interior of Abernchill Castle.

In the vicinity of all three houses Suffragist literature was found, including one message reading, "A warm welcome to Lloyd George."

## GUARDED KEW

Although it is almost a year since the Kew Gardens Tea Pavilion was burnt and an attempt was made to blow up the greenhouses, great damage being done, the Kew Garden authorities have not relaxed their vigilant watch. No. 1 Museum, which contains invaluable botanical treasures, is still closed to the public; only persons who are able to convince the curator that they have a valid reason for entering are able to obtain a permit. Strict guard is kept over all the houses night and day.

# WOMAN AS AN ECONOMIC FACTOR

## WOMEN SHOP ASSISTANTS

### Some Grim Facts

Some terrible evils were exposed in the course of a conference of women shop assistants held recently in London. With regard to wages, many instances were given of girls of 18 and 20 years of age who were receiving as little as 6s. and 7s. a week. One case was quoted of a young woman of 24 who had been in a drapery store for ten years and was earning only 9s. a week!

The long hours of work were also discussed. These were often over 60 hours a week, and sometimes over 100 hours. The perpetual standing in a vitiated atmosphere produces all kinds of ill-health, from anæmia to tuberculosis.

Can it be wondered at that women like these, who have the same claim as men to a decent share of the light and colour of life, should be demanding equal political rights with men in order that they may make their own economic existence a tolerable one?

## CAMPAIGN AMONG TRADE ELECTORS

### Woman as an Economic "Third Party"

The League of Justice, which is now in full swing, has made an energetic start in its campaign among the trade electors of the country. It is now circularising the tradespeople of London with a leaflet written by Miss Gwynneth Chapman, explaining the scope and intention of a new method for rousing the electorate and making them conscious of what they will lose by delaying any longer the enfranchisement of women.

### A New Weapon

The leaflet announces the use of a new weapon, "particularly deadly in a community where commercial interests are of such paramount interest." This is "the organisation of the money-distributing power which women possess as housekeepers to the nation." By its use the State can be deprived of revenue by concerted action on the part of women who have capital, and women's money can be further diverted into channels from which the male electorate will derive little or no benefit. "Money will still be in circulation," says the leaflet; "but only openly avowed friends of the women's cause will get it."

Already, the writer claims, money is going out of the constituency of an Anti-Suffragist M.P. into that of a Suffragist M.P. Women's money is being invested abroad in large sums, and income tax returns show a large falling off. Women are withdrawing subscriptions from public charities that are not under equal control of women and men, notably from hospitals with a male medical monopoly. Lists are being made of tradespeople who have promised their support. These, with the advertisers in Suffrage papers, adds the writer, "practically command between them all the Suffragist custom."

### In Industrial Disputes

The leaflet points out further that this realisation of the economic value of her custom means that woman's intervention in questions of wages and hours of labour will make her a powerful third party in labour disputes. "No woman workers," says the writer, "could be excluded from any trade, or underpaid for their labour, if the women consumers of the products of that trade went on strike."

Copies of the leaflet can be obtained from the League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W.

Chapter II

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Roll up each piece, put in tub with water enough to cover and soak half an hour.

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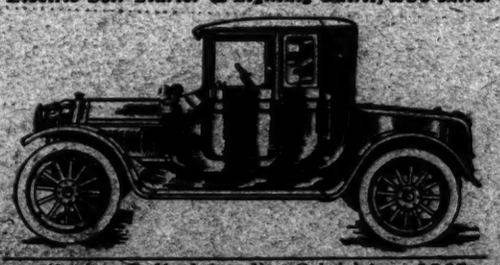

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## AN APPEAL TO WOMEN RAILWAY SHAREHOLDERS

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—The railway companies will be holding their annual meetings this month. May I ask your readers who are shareholders to attend in person and to question their directors respecting the arrangements made for women travelling alone in the third class. It may be news to your readers (though not a surprise to Suffragists) that whereas smoking carriages have been compulsory since 1867, a woman still has no *statutory* right to a ladies' compartment. However, the woman shareholder is not disfranchised by reason of her sex, so perhaps the directors would pay some attention to her remarks. I give my personal experience of certain lines.

Lancashire and Yorkshire. *Trains:* The compartments adjoining the firsts are permanently allotted to women on every steam train. Unprotected girls are shepherded into these compartments, and the platform staff go round and remove any men who enter. *Steamers:* Women are berthed in the port side cabins, with direct access to the companion and refreshment saloon; the bar is right aft of the companion. Frequent prosecutions for interference with the comfort of passengers, and names of offenders are posted up. All honour to this company for the care they take of women who have not the power to block Bills.

London and North-Western. *Trains:* I have been refused a ladies' compartment many times, and even in the first class, although previous application had been made by wire or letter. These included such trains as the 2 a.m. and 2.15 a.m. from Holyhead, the 10.40 p.m. boat special from Leeds, and night trains from Euston. *Steamers:* No place for meals except the general saloon, in which the bar is situated, and where the tables are usually commandeered by drinking parties. A limited number of women are berthed in a tiny cabin communicating directly with this saloon, and about ten feet from the bar. The remaining women have to sit where they can, exposed to all the drinking and smoking that takes place; their sufferings when there are 500 or 600 male trippers on board may be more easily imagined than described. Yet this company advertise that there is "careful provision" and "reserved carriages" for women travelling alone. ("Ireland for the holidays," page 7.)

The arrangements on other lines lies between these two extremes, compartments being allotted permanently to women on a few trains, but otherwise obtainable on request only.

Midland. *Trains:* Compartments "reserved for schoolgirls" on certain trains, and a high standard of cleanliness throughout. *Steamers:* Women are berthed in the starboard side cabins, adjoining the refreshment saloon. The bar is near the men's quarters on the port side. Excellent discipline is maintained throughout the Midland system.

South Eastern and Chatham. *Steamers:* Women are berthed on the poop, men on the lower deck. There is a somewhat similar arrangement in force on the City of Belfast and the Isle of Man boats.

Twenty years ago the Cheap Trains Act Commission recommended that accommodation should be reserved for workgirls on all workmen's trains. If women had the vote would there only be one solitary company that had carried out this recommendation?

N. E. C.

February 2, 1914.

## SUFFRAGIST WRITERS

The Women Writers' Suffrage League arranged a most successful afternoon at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday last. Famous authors read passages from their own books; among these were Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss S. Macnaughten, Mrs. Margaret Woods, Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, Madame Lydia Yavorska, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, and Mr. W. L. George. Mr. Zangwill gave an extract from his new play. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, who was to have opened the proceedings with a reading from "On the Face of the Waters," was absent through illness, so her place was taken by Lady Abercrombie. Afterwards autograph copies of the books were sold by auction. There was such a demand for tickets that many had to be turned away.


DICKINS & JONES' Sale

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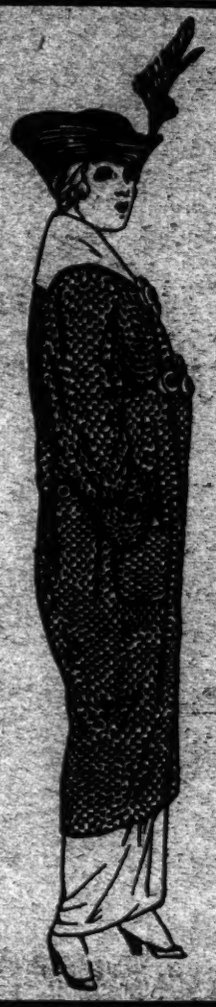

EVERYTHING REDUCED IN PRICE.

Every department at Dickins and Jones is offering goods at greatly reduced price, and all Ladies who are looking for bargains, and have not already paid them a visit, should certainly make a point of doing so before the Sale terminates.

Sale Terminates Saturday, Feb. 28th.

C303.—A Practical **Sports Coat** of new check material cut with large swing armhole to allow freedom of movement, large patch pockets, collar, etc., of Suede Velours in contrasting shades.
Sale Price **42/-**

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*4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

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## ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

**2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.**

**President: Lady Forbes-Robertson**

The Tea Dance at the Empress Rooms fulfilled all expectations, over 200 persons being present.

The speeches at the "At Home" on Friday, February 6, at the Arts Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, will all be on Tax Resistance. Miss Cicely Hamilton will take the chair. Speakers: Mrs. Kineton Parkes, Rev. Charles Baumgarten (Rector of Bloomsbury), Dr. Marie Stopes, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Hostesses: Miss Nina Boucicault and Miss Cathleen Nesbitt.

The Reception to the Northern Men's Federation, mentioned last week, will be at Caxton Hall, Sunday, February 15, 8 to 11 p.m. The Hostesses will include Miss Nina Boucicault, Miss Maud Cressall, Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, Miss Edyth Olive, and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield. Messrs. Arthur Applin, Ben Webster, Arncliffe Sennett, and others will act as Hosts, and various leading actors and actresses are promising their services at the entertainment.

A performance of "How the Vote was Won" and "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky" will be given by the A.F.L. at the West Hampstead Town Hall, on Thursday, February 12, at 8 o'clock. Mr. Cameron Grant will speak.

## COMING EVENTS

### 'Votes for Women" Fellowship Meetings

There will be a Fellows Reunion at the Small Essex Hall to-day (Friday), at 8.30 p.m. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and others.

To-day (Friday) Miss Bremner will lecture at the Arts Club, Leeds, on Florence Nightingale.

There will be a meeting at the Clarion Café, 30, Lord Street, Liverpool, on February 9, at 8.15 p.m. Speaker: Dr. Helena Jones. Chair: Miss Phyllis Lovell. There will be readings from Olive Schreiner's "Women and Labour," at 15, Hoghton Street, Southport, every Monday evening, at 8 p.m., and at The Albany, Old Hall Street, Liverpool, every Thursday, at 3.30 p.m.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Streatham Town Hall on February 10, at 8 p.m. Chair: Lady Isabel Margesson.

There will be a Drawing-room Meeting at Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, on February 12, at 8.30 p.m. Hostess: Mrs. Harrie Schütze. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp and Mr. H. J. Gillespie. Chair: Dr. Schütze.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Rev. G. H. Davis will speak at the Cheltenham Town Hall on February 12. Chair: Dr. Alice Burn.

There will be a meeting at the Town Hall, Rickmansworth, on February 18, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. John Scurr. Chair: Mr. H. D. Harben, J.P.

The Right Rev. Bishop Powell, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Hampstead Conservatoire, Swiss Cottage, on February 19, at 8 p.m. Chair: Mr. Frank Debenham, J.P.

There will be a meeting at the Kingsway Hall on February 26, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Sir Harry Johnston, Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. George Lansbury, and others. (See page 287.)

### Other Meetings

The Irish League for Woman Suffrage announce a lecture by Mr. J. M. Cabe at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, on February 10, at 8 p.m.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on February 10, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Miss Hodge, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, and Miss Alexandra Wright.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on February 11, at 8.30 p.m., Professor Caroline Spurgeon will speak on "The Women's Municipal Party." Chair: The Duchess of Marlborough.

The Women's Freedom League will hold meetings at the Caxton Hall on February 11, at 3.30 p.m.—Speakers: Mr. John Scurr and Miss Anna Munro; and at 8 p.m.—Speakers: Mrs. Despard, Miss Boyle, and Mr. Scurr.

The Northern Men's Federation will hold a meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on February 14, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Bailie Alston, J.P., Councillor Barrie, Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, and others.

The Federation will also hold a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square on February 15, at 2.30 p.m.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will hold a great demonstration for men and women in the Albert Hall on February 14 at 8 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Fawcett. Speakers: Mrs. Creighton, Miss Royden, Mr. Fenner Brockway, the Earl of Lytton, and others.

## SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

**Actresses' Franchise League,**
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**Artists' Suffrage League,**
259, King's Road, S.W.

**Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association,**
C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

**Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,**
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

**Church League for Women's Suffrage,**
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

**Civil Service Suffrage Society,**
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

**Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,**
43, Dover Street, W.

**Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,**
14 St. James' Street, S.W.

**Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,**
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

**Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,**
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

**Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,**
Walden, Gloucester.

**Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,**
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

**International Suffrage Shop,**
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**International Woman Suffrage Alliance,**
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**International Women's Franchise Club,**
9, Grafton Street, W.

**Irish League for Woman Suffrage,**
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**Irishwomen's Franchise League,**
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Reform League,**
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,**
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,**
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,**
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

**Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,**
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

**League of Justice,**
22, South Molton Street, W.

**London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,**
Chester Gate Ealing.

**Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,**
Duncton, Petworth, Sussex.

**Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,**
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

**Men's League for Woman Suffrage,**
135, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

**Men's Political Union for Woman's Enfranchisement,**
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

**Men's Society for Woman's Rights,**
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

**Munster Women's Franchise League,**
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

**National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,**
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

**National Political League,**
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

**National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,**
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

**New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,**
3, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

**Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,**
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

**People's Suffrage Federation**
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

**Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,**
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

**Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,**
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

**Spiritual Militancy League,**
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

**Suffrage Atelier,**
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

**Suffrage Club,**
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

**"Suffrage First" Committee,**
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

**Suffragist Churchwoman's Protest Committee,**
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

**United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies**
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

**United Suffragists,**
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

**Votes for Women Fellowship,**
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

**Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,**
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

**Women's Freedom League,**
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom**
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

**Women's Social and Political Union,**
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

**Women's Tax Resistance League,**
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

**Women Teachers' Franchise Union,**
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

**Women Writers' Suffrage League,**
Gosden Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

### BROCADES AND SATINS

Messrs. Debenham and Freebody, who are so noted as silk mercers, have now a very large stock of the most beautiful brocades, satins, and metal-run materials. A speciality of theirs is velvet richly, yet daintily, brocaded on a precious metal ground, which produces an incomparably handsome effect. These brocades are, of course, primarily meant for Court trains, and then there are the most beautiful coloured silks and crêpes de chine for dresses.


## PROFESSIONS FOR WOMEN.

LADIES who wish to take up a really well-paid profession should study Swedish Massage, Medical Electricity, or Remedial Exercises. The work is both remunerative and interesting, and is such as would appeal to most ladies who feel they wish to be doing some good in the world or who are dissatisfied with present poorly paid positions. The Harley Institute is the largest and most up-to-date school in London, and thorough knowledge of the subjects taught can be acquired in a few months. The fee for complete training varies according to the number of subjects taken up, and certificates are signed by two qualified medical men.

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Fine Cloth, Whipcord, Wool, Velvet, Covert Coating Gabrioori and other new materials 3 to 5 Gns.

Sports Coat ... 1½ Gns.

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# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VII. (New Series), No. 309 FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1914. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free 1½d.)


# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

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*All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

## NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. —February 8, 11, Sir Conan Doyle, "The Reform of the Divorce Law"; 7, Dr. Saleeby, "Trying to be Fair."

## THEATRES

ROYAL COURT THEATRE, Sloane Square, S.W.—Special Matinee, Saturday, February 14, at 2.30 p.m., "The Better Half," a new Suffrage Play by Alison Garland. Stalls 10s. 6d., 7s. 6d., 4s. 6d. Dress Circle 7s. 6d., 5s. Upper Circle 4s., 3s. Pit 3s. 6d. Gallery 1s. Box office, 'phone 848 Gerrard.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Tuesday, February 10, 3 p.m., New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, "The Effect of the Women's Vote in Australia and New Zealand," Miss Hodge, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss Alexandra Wright.

IRISH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.—Lecture by Mr. Joseph M. Cabe on "The Common Sense of Citizenship," Tuesday, February 10, 8 p.m., at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W.—Wednesday, February 11, 8.30, "The Women's Municipal Party," Prof. Caroline Spurgeon. Chairman, the Duchess of Marlborough.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers: February 11, Mr. John Scurr (Subject: "Go Home and Mind the Baby!") and Miss Anna Munro. Admission free.

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*(Classified Advertisements continued on page 891.)*

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